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REPORT

SUBJECT The 30-Day Stalin Course and the
Political Economy Course of the
Communist Party

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notes taken from the lectures delivered at two high-level
indoctrination courses of the Communist Party
namely the 30-Day Stalin Course and the Political Economy
Course

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INFORMATION REPORT INFORMATION REPORT

Study and Assimilate the Experiences of the Communist Party of China

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Summary

Our objective in this lecture is to examine the experiences and lessons of the Chinese Communist Party which will help our Party in the task of winning the masses to the support of our Program. The experiences of the Chinese Communist Party are important because there the Party triumphed for the first time in a great semi-colonial and semi-feudal nation. In China, the Party was able to establish a United Front, to assimilate Marxism, and to apply it in a creative manner.

The Chinese Communist Party organized and educated the workers, prepared and adopted a concrete Program of political action, and organized the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist United Front. One of the most important aspects of the Chinese Revolution is that it established a bridge between the proletariat of the West and the oppressed peoples of the East. The following Stalinist conditions were put into practice there:

- 1) That the Party be united, have a Program, and be the Party of the proletariat.
- 2) That the Party take action with regard to the rural question.
- 3) That the army be influenced by the Party.
- 4) That the Communists participate in the existing government and fight for the revolution from inside the government itself.

The Chinese revolution developed at a time when the socialist camp already existed. It was a democratic-bourgeois revolution of a new type that succeeded in abolishing capitalism and the vestiges of feudalism. The difference between it and the democratic revolutions of the West is that it was carried out under the leadership of the proletariat.

The agrarian question in the democratic-popular revolution reduces itself to the proletarian leadership of the peasants; the Party must have a radical agrarian program in order to win the support of the peasants. In this regard, a valuable

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lesson can be learned from the Chinese tactics, which were as follows:

- 1) Rely on the poor and landless peasants.
- 2) Unite with the middle class peasants.
- 3) Neutralize the rich peasants.
- 4) Gradually liquidate the large landowners as a class.

The worker-peasant alliance is the basis for the proletarian leadership of a United Front, which must contain the following factors:

- 1) Correct tactics.
- 2) The leaders of the Party must count on the support of the masses.
- 3) Although cooperating with the bourgeoisie, we must have our own definite political objectives and our own political line.
- 4) It is necessary to have ideological unity and strong discipline in the Party.

The Marxist principle that all forms of struggle must be used was proven in the revolution by the Chinese Communists, whose tactics included:

- a) Uniting the workers of the field with those of the city.
- b) Skillfully utilizing tactics of offense with tactics of retreat.
- c) Combining legal work with illegal work.
- d) Combining all other forms of struggle with armed struggle, and, at the same time, subordinating all armed struggle.
- e) Maintaining and increasing strength.

The great significance of the Chinese revolution is that it opened a great nation to a non-capitalist development, thereby marking a transition toward socialism. The victory of this revolution intensified the general crisis of world capitalism.

The Chinese revolution indicated the importance of Party leadership in such a struggle and the need to build up the Party. The building of the Party is closely linked with the assimilation of Marxism-Leninism and its practical application. The experiences of the Chinese Communist Party revealed the importance of: the practice of criticism and self-criticism by all Party members; the combating of subjectivism and sectarianism; the ideological struggle within

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the Party; and the maintenance of close links with the masses.

The Chinese revolution, an event of world importance, would not have been possible without the existence of the Soviet Union; that [REDACTED] revolution now serves as an example and a stimulus for [REDACTED] the people of the entire world. The Chinese revolution placed China at the side of the Soviet Union in the world struggle for Peace and [REDACTED] Socialism.

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Stalin Course

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Lecture 11

Dialectical and historical materialism, theoretical foundation of Party policy.

Summary: I. Introduction

II. The connection between the basic theses of materialist dialectics and the basic theses of Party policy.

III. The connection between the basic theses of dialectical theory and the theoretical theses of Party policy.

IV. The relation between historical materialism as a science and Party policy.

V. Conclusion.

I. Party policy, being scientific, has dialectical and historical materialism as its theoretical base. Marx in his earliest works had already asserted that philosophy found its material weapon in the proletariat, and the proletariat its spiritual weapon in philosophy, that is to say, in the dialectical materialist philosophy. Marx said, on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism, that the mission of the proletariat as the gravedigger of capitalism and the creator of socialism, is as follows: "The problem does not lie in the fact that a given proletarian should at a given moment discern his objective, or even that of all proletarians; the question is in knowing what a proletarian is and what he will be forced to do, historically, by virtue of his social existence."

Developing the thesis relative to the connections between dialectical and historical materialism and scientific socialism, which represents a basis for a scientific understanding of Party policy, Marx said: "It does not require great intelligence to perceive the connection between the doctrine of materialism and Communism and socialism; if man withdraws all his knowledge, sensations, etc. of the world and of sensory experience

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acquired in this world, it is necessary consequently to organize the enveloping world in such a manner that man will find in it what is really human, so that he becomes accustomed to teach his human traits in this world. If man is not free in the materialist sense, that is, if he is free, not as a consequence of the negative force of teaching this or that, but as a consequence of the positive force of manifesting his true individuality, then we should not punish individual persons for crimes, but instead abolish the antisocial roots of crime; if the character of man is created by circumstances, then it is necessary to change the human circumstances."

Developing the connection of dialectical and historical materialism with Communism and Party policy, Marx and Engels said that in its application to society our philosophy leads to socialism and Communism. Lenin emphasized the indissolubility of the component parts of Marxism as a complete and harmonious concept of nature and society [intended?] to transform them by revolutionary means. This signifies that there is an internal, organic connection among all the parts of Marxism as the theory of the proletariat, which is the scientific foundation of its policy, and from which our present tasks and the struggle for socialism logically result. For that reason Stalin said: "Dialectical and historical materialism constitute the theoretical basis of Communism, the theoretical basis of the Marxist Party, and it is the duty of every Party militant to know and to assimilate those bases." The classics of Marxism, pointing to the internal connection of dialectical and historical materialism with scientific socialism and Party policy, teach us that the essence of our philosophy is that it is the science of the more general laws of the development of reality. Therefore, it enables us, not only to know the past accurately, but also to foresee the basic tendencies of future social development. Thus, we shall be armed to transform society in a practical and revolutionary manner.

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The application of dialectical and historical materialism to the analysis of social reality leads, as a logical consequence, to the theoretical foundation of the Party program and to the recognition of the necessity and inevitability of the anti-imperialist and agrarian, anti-feudal revolution as a point of departure for our future construction of Socialism.

II. Let us take up the connection of the basic theses of dialectical materialism and the theoretical bases of the Party program.

1. The Party does not base its program on accidental reasons but on the objective laws of social development and on the practical conclusions to be derived from those laws for the activity of Communists. The dialectical materialist method teaches, in the ^{first} place, that all social and political phenomena are not isolated one from another, but mutually connected and affected by certain historical conditions. If we do not take up the economic and social situation in a given country in its internal and mutual connections, looking at political phenomena and the causes which give rise to them from an historical viewpoint, then none of our observations will have a scientific explanation; in that way, we can stumble into fancy and into a policy based on our wishes. Utopian socialists, for example, did not understand the necessity of taking up social phenomena in their mutual connection and in their historical conditioning; that is why they fell into a metaphysical concept of society, considering capitalism an accidental and irrational phenomenon, and considering the rise of capitalism as being completely apart from the development of society. Therefore, the Utopian socialists believe that it would be possible to create socialism, not only during the period of capitalism, but even much before the existence of capitalism. Disclosing the metaphysical character of the Utopian socialists, Stalin said that they considered life from above and lost themselves in the clouds, whereas a close connection with reality, itself, was necessary. These tendencies are

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not exclusive with the Utopian socialists; in general, when we do not take up Party policy in conjunction with a study and interpretation of objective conditions, we always fall into subjective tendencies which result in serious errors in Party activity.

In opposition to this idealistic manner of approaching social and political phenomena, it is asserted, for example, that the rise of socialism is historically bound up with the existence of capitalism, and that without capitalism there would be no socialism. Lenin, fighting the populists, showed that socialism is bound up with capitalism by objective laws. Therein rises, according to objective laws, the inevitability of the victory of the proletarian revolution. It is precisely capitalism, with its contradictions, which gives rise to the socialist movement, to the appearance of the Party, and which prepares the objective conditions for the victory of socialism.

The Communist Party and the socialist regime are therefore not accidental phenomena, but the natural fruits of historical development and an objective necessity for the outcropping of the profound contradictions of capitalism. Attempts to prevent the victory of socialism and to perpetuate capitalist oppression are attempts doomed to failure. In that sense we must understand that the working class, itself, is a product of historical development and the main element of the productive forces of capitalism.

The development of the proletariat and its struggle against the regime of exploitation and oppression is the fundamental condition for the rise, development, and victory of socialism. For that reason, it is not possible to paralyze, and much less annihilate, the labor movement, as the reactionaries unsuccessfully attempt to do. To do away with the labor movement, the Party, and Marxism, means to try to do away with the laws of social development and with society; this is impossible.

2. Disclosing the laws of social development, Stalin said that social life is in a continuous state of movement, development, and transformation;

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that whatever is born and grows day by day is invincible. To stop the forward motion is impossible. This is a general objective law that is independent of the will of man. This law, applied to the analysis of present-day society, leads logically to an understanding of the historical role of the proletariat as the creator of Communism, because the proletariat is the only class which, playing the principal role in the present-day social production, grows and becomes stronger continuously, while at the same time making social life advance. For that reason, the working class, with the passage of time, will become the master of production. Consequently, scientific socialism orients itself toward the working class, in view of its condition as the principal force in the struggle of the working masses for socialism. Revealing the inconsistencies of the unscientific and reactionary tendencies to perpetuate the regime of exploitation and oppression, Lenin said: "If everything develops, if certain institutions are replaced by others, then what will be the reason for the continuation or the perpetual existence of the autocracy of the King of Prussia or the Tsar of Russia, the enrichment of an insignificant number at the expense of the immense majority, the sway of the bourgeoisie over the people?"

If social development is in constant motion, development, and transformation, it is obvious that Party policy, in order to be correct, must start from the premise that there is no such thing as an irremovable social regime, ~~nor~~ eternal principles of private property, of class exploitation, or of submission of the worker to the capitalist and of the peasant to the landowner. Thus, the Party policy has a scientific foundation because it starts from the principle that the present system of large landowners and capitalists in control of our country is not perpetual; it can be overthrown and replaced by another regime. All the present development of our countries leads necessarily and inevitably to the victory of our cause. In the same manner, the workers can free themselves from the capitalist yoke and build a socialist society,

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and our peoples can free themselves from the imperialist yoke and be free and independent peoples. This is one of the objective laws of social development; every social development leads inevitably to the victory of the Party policy if it is a scientific policy. For that reason, it is necessary for us to rely on the social forces which are developing in our countries and which have a future; that is, the proletariat and the social forces which are exploited and oppressed by the present regime of great landowners and capitalists and by the imperialists. That is why Stalin says that in order for us not to make a mistake in policy as well as in our practical work we must look forward and not backward.

3. The development which takes place in the life of society does so through revolutionary transformations put into practice by the oppressed and exploited class. That being a law of social development, we must base our Party policy on understanding that the modification of the present situation in our country can only occur through revolutionary transformation. The present regime of great landowners and capitalists is not going to give up its power willingly to a new regime led by the proletariat, the basic objective of which is to liquidate the great landowners and capitalists; the imperialists will not readily grant independence to our country because that would liquidate the very bases of imperialism. The replacement of the regime now in control in our country by a new regime led by the proletariat can only be accomplished by revolutionary transformation, through the medium of revolution.

The Party policy, in order to be correct, must be based on this objective law of social development, namely, on the law which states that the passage from one regime to a qualitatively different and superior one always take place in a sudden and revolutionary manner; that is why we fight those who deny the necessity of revolution to free our peoples from exploitation and oppression and who at the same time speak out in support of the course of reform. These are the reformers. We also fight those who imagine it to be possible to carry out the revolution and to seize power without prior preparation; without creating

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the necessary subjective conditions; without the political education and preparation of the masses, etc. Those are the anarchists and the sectarians. We base our activity on the principle that the masses will become convinced of the necessity for revolution through their own experience in class conflicts, with the guidance and explanation of the Communist Party.

Keeping in mind this objective law of social development, we must understand that now in our country the elements for a revolutionary explosion are accumulating; conditions are developing for the passage from the present regime to a new regime that will be qualitatively different from the present one; the conditions, in short, are building up for the revolutionary conquest of power through the work of the Party. On the principle that the passage from the present system of great landowners and capitalists to the new regime for which we are struggling can only be assured by revolution, any other course would be Utopian; for that reason, Stalin said that, in politics, in order not to make mistakes, one must be a revolutionary and not a reformer.

The means, the forms of class struggle, are many, but revolution is the principal and decisive means; the others are preparatory means to create the conditions for revolution. That is why we say that the partial struggles, the reforms, must be taken as byproducts of revolution, as elements needed to organize, to conduct the struggle, and to educate the masses for the ultimate development of the revolutionary movement, for the conquest of political power.

4. For the Party policy to be correct, it must take into account that the social development of our country takes place through internal contradictions which are due to the lack of correspondence between the production relations and the nature of the productive forces, and also to the existence of classes and social strata with antagonistic interests. The fact that there is a lack of correspondence between the new forces of production which are developing in our country and the old semifeudal relations is what causes the

CONFIDENTIAL

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conflict between them, the social conflict. Hence, this is the economic base of the revolution. The interests of the landless peasants and of those who control the land are opposed, antagonistic interests; the same thing happens between the interests of the workers and those of the capitalists; the same antagonism exists between the interests of the great masses of our people who struggle so that our country may be independent, and the interests of the imperialists, who exploit and oppress us and do everything to prevent our independence and progressive development. If this happens in reality, there is no way to prevent the existence of contradictions and clashes between those social forces which have antagonistic interests.

Party policy, in order to be appropriate, must start from the internal contradictions of social development. Party policy must be aimed at revealing these contradictions, exposing them to the masses, aggravating them in order to overcome them in accordance with the interests of the proletariat. The objective development of the political situation is always a process of the clashing of political forces caused by the contradictions existing between them; hence, the struggle for the overcoming of the actual contradictions is the main and only source of social development; hence the proletariat's class struggle is a perfectly natural and inevitable phenomenon.

(BEGIN SUMMARY) --

The policy of the Party should be intransigent with regard to revealing to the masses the contradictions which exist between the large landowners and the peasants, between the workers and the capitalists, and between our people and their enemies the imperialists and the regime of large landowners and capitalists.

These are the fundamental principles on which Party policy should be based in order to be scientific, to be in accordance with the objective laws of social development and their practical outcome.

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III - The relation between the basic theses of Marxist materialism and the theoretic theses of Party policy furnish us with an appropriate form for interpreting objective reality, the data obtained from the study of that reality serving to set the political line of the Party. When the Party strives for a popular democratic regime it is not because we wish it, but because the action of objective laws have already rendered timely the need for a radical transformation of the material life of our society in order to effect its progressive development.

If the objective laws of the social development of our country lead inevitably to the substitution of the present semicolonial and semifeudal regime for a new one, this cannot be prevented by reactionary measures. Only Utopians and idealists consider social phenomena differently, and imagine that Party policy should correspond to demands of social justice, morality, reason, or personal wishes; these idealist concepts cause great mistakes and serious damage to the revolutionary movement, since they tend to burden us with tasks that cannot be performed in practice.

Can we get to know the objective laws of social development? We can. By understanding these laws and knowing how to utilize them, Party policy will be scientific and not imaginary -- based on the scientific knowledge of reality.

Knowing the process of the law of compulsory correspondence between production relations and the nature of the productive forces, we understand that all crises of the structure currently occurring in our country are due to the existence of antiquated, semifeudal relations which prevent the development of new productive forces.

Political ideas are not born at random; they are determined by needs created by the material living conditions. Social existence determines social conscience, that is to say, the worker's condition determines his class conscience, which in turn determines his struggle against exploitation and oppression to attain social independence. An appropriate political idea can only be one that is based on material conditions, that is to say, on the economic conditions of life and the progressive development of society.

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The ideal of our Party is to obtain a progressive democratic regime for the people and immediately establish a socialist society. This ideal is just, not because it is based on Communist desires, but because it is based on the need to develop the economic conditions of our society.

The starting point in establishing Party policy is, therefore, the study and interpretation of the material life of society in order to discover the objective laws of social development, the needs arising from the development of the life of society, and the fundamental interests of the working class and the people.

IV - There is an organic relation between historical materialism, as a science, and the scientific policy of the Party. Historical materialism is the science of the study of society as a whole, and of the more general laws which govern social development. Therefore, historical materialism is of fundamental importance for the scientific knowledge of society and its revolutionary transformation. Stalin said that the history of the development of society is the history of the development of production, that of the development of productive forces and of production relations among men; it is the history of the producers of material goods themselves, that is to say, of the working masses who are the basic factor in the production process and the producers of the material goods essential to the existence of society.

Application of the theses of historical materialism makes us realize that the revolutionary struggle of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal classes is inevitable, and that the revolution that will destroy the present regime and install a popular democratic one in Brazil is both necessary and inevitable. All this should make clear why the tactical basis of the Party program is the doctrine of the irreconcilable class struggle. The Brazilian Communist Party responds to the historical necessity of a revolutionary proletarian party whose objectives are the introduction of Marxist-Leninist theory, and of a scientific policy based on the workers movement and the democratic revolutionary movement for national independence.

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The decisive factor which enables the proletariat to carry out its historical mission is the revolution. Once the revolution is successful, we must establish a popular democratic state as the revolutionary instrument needed to create the objective and subjective conditions essential to the socialist development of Brazil. All tactical forms of struggle and of organization should serve this fundamental strategic objective. A scientific Party tactic demands a dialectic materialist method of confronting the situations which arise; this means a rational and skillful combination of all the forms of struggle, stressing at all times the one best suited to the situation and taking into account the correlation of the forces in strife.

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HISTORIC IMPORTANCE OF THE XIXTH CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY

Summary:

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I. Introduction

II. Nature of the XIXth Congress of the Soviet CP (Communist Party)

III. The Principal Teachings of the XIXth Congress

IV. The Principal Conclusions of the XIXth Congress for our Party

1. Our Party ^{was} greatly honored in being invited to take part in the XIXth Congress, which may be described as a congress of victors in the development of socialism. This is ^{good} reason for us to feel honored and proud, since it indicates that our Party has won the confidence of the international workers' movement and of the Soviet CP. This invitation also is the fruit of the solicitude of Comrade Stalin, who has shown special affection for our Party. Hence our gratitude to the Soviet CP and to Comrade Stalin for their confidence in our leadership and in our Party. For the first time ^{the} in more than 30 years of our existence, we ~~had~~ the honor to be invited to a congress of the Soviet CP. It is an exceptional event in our life, an indication of a new period in the history of our Party. It ^{was} bound to continue to exert a profound influence on the life of our Party.

2. The Soviet CP came to the XIXth Congress united, cohesive, and exemplary. It had already achieved great ~~concrete~~ accomplishments in the improvement of the material and cultural situation of Soviet society and in the active defense ~~of~~ of the Country of Socialism. It arrived with vast authority and with a fraternal link with the workers' parties, the result of ^{the} internationalist policy, supported and put into practice by Lenin and Stalin. This Congress is an event which marks an epoch in the history of mankind, not limited to ~~representatives~~ a few countries, but which extends throughout the world (~~representatives~~ ^{were present indicating} of 45 brother Communist parties ~~representatives~~ the importance of the XIXth Congress):

1. Because it was ^{the} Congress of the Soviet CP which gave to the working

CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

built
world the victory of the socialist revolution which ~~the socialist~~ the socialist society.

Socialism has progressed from aspiration to concrete reality. Once ~~the~~ ^{remain theoretical} socialism could be a ^{but that status} utopia ~~which~~ could not ^{continue} after the victory of socialism. ^[This is] The XIXth Congress of the Party which saved humanity from slavery to Fascism. Thanks to the wise and inflexible direction of the Soviet ~~the~~ CP, the ~~the~~ Nazi hordes were smashed.

2. The XIXth Congress was the congress of creative Marxism, whose proceedings were dominated by ~~the~~ Stalin's work of genius, ~~the~~ "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR." Comrade Prestes said in his report (prob. 45, page 61), "The Congress shows us the powerful force of Marxism-Leninism, the force of ~~the~~ conviction of creative Marxism."

The experience of the Soviet CP shows that only a party dominated by Marxist-Leninist theory, only a party which takes this theory as its guide for action, is capable of leading the working class to victory. The great ideas of creative Marxism-Leninism arose in the Congress with simplicity and clarity, throwing vast light over the most complex problems of the present moment of history.

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It was ~~the~~ Party Congress which oriented the selfless fighters of socialism throughout the world and which directs with a firm hand the struggle of the nations for peace, national independence, and democracy. Thus we can say that it was a Congress of the world Communist movement, or that the Soviet CP is the ideal ^{model} ~~model~~ of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party. The XIXth Congress marks the beginning of a new stage ^{of development} ~~for~~ humanity. If once we had faith in ultimate victory, the ~~the~~ successes achieved in the development of socialism, the extraordinary ~~the~~ growth of the world Communist movement has opened up new ^{world} ~~the~~ prospects for the ~~the~~ revolutionary movement. On the other hand, the achievements of the USSR struck at the plots of the imperialist aggressors. Every achievement of the USSR is a blow against the imperialists. Therefore the XIXth Congress was a tremendous defeat for the imperialists. The composition of the XIXth Congress reflected the most progressive and advanced element in

- 2 -

-3-

the Soviet Communist Party. ^{Illegible} ^{deliberative} 92 delegates ^{and 167}
 consultative delegates took part in it, these representing 6,013,259 Party
 members and 968,886 ^{candidates for} ^{members} Party (as of 1 October 1952).
 During the XVIIIth Congress the Party had 2,477,666 members and ^{candidates}.

In 13 years, then, there was an increase of 4,404,479 members, which ^{between the Party and}
 shows the increase in the bonds of ^{unity} the Soviet people and the
 growth of its authority among the masses, since growth is possible only with an
 increase in authority and with contact with the masses. It is necessary, ^{farther-}
 more, to take into consideration the great losses experienced by the Party
 during the war, which cut off its best members. Despite this, the Party has
 tripled, which shows the powerful force of attraction which the Soviet CP
 constitutes in the eyes of the classes who trust the
 Party.

The present composition of the Party is as follows:

15 ^{Union} Republic parties
 8 territorial ^[oblast?] organizations
 167 regional ^[rayon?] organizations
 36 ^[okrug] organizations
 544 municipal organizations
 4,886 ^[ward area?] organizations

^{The} Party organizations of Latvia, Lithuania,
 Estonia, and the Republic of Moldavia, which had joined the Party since the
 XVIIIth Congress, took part in a congress for the first time.

Data on the Baltic States

<u>CP</u>	<u>Members in 1941</u>	<u>Members at the time of the XIXth Congress</u>
Latvia	2,000 2,000	50,000
Lithuania	25,000 25,000	36,000
Estonia	2,000	31,000

Most of the new Party organizations were established in new enterprises,

-4-

where their number quadrupled.

For the first time, also, organizations from ~~the~~ western regions of the Ukraine, with 100,000 [?] members, and of Byelorussia with 32,000, were represented in the Congress. These regions had come back to rejoin the family of Soviet peoples, as well as the Kaliningrad region (formerly East Prussia). Organizations of the southern Sakhalin Islands and of the Kurile Islands were represented. During the period between the XVIIIth and XIXth congresses, the number of Party OB ^(primary organizations?) increased by 237,245, i.e. more than tripled. It is worth mentioning that after the XVIIIth ~~the~~ Party Congress the number of OB increased ⁷⁰⁰ 600 percent in the kolkhozes and about ⁷⁰⁰ percent in educational institutions.

COMPOSITION OF THE DELEGATIONS

Delegates representing all sectors of the ^{Soviet} economy and cultural life took part in the Congress. Of the deliberative delegates ^{graduated from an institution of} 709 had ~~higher~~ higher education, 84 had incomplete higher education, 223 had ~~incomplete~~ complete secondary education, 166 had incomplete secondary education or only primary education. Of the 709 delegates with higher education, 282 were engineers, 68 were live-stock agronomists or had some other agricultural specialty, 98 were ~~teachers~~ teachers, 18 economists, 11 physicians, and 7 ~~lawyers~~ ^{and technicians} lawyers. This shows that in the USSR men of culture ^{and technicians} are moving ahead boldly. Six of the delegates held scientific degrees, 58 were ~~winners~~ winners of Stalin prizes in science, in technology, or the arts, or even as workers.

SENIORITY IN THE PARTY AND AGE

Length of Party membership and age of the members ~~show~~ show that the Soviet CP combines the boldness of the young with the experience of age.

<u>% of Membership</u>	<u>Year Joined the Party</u>	<u>General Circumstances</u>
1.2	before 1917	while the Party was outlawed
6.2	1917-1920	civil war
36.4	1921-1930	restoration & collectivization
36	1931-1940	
16.1	1941	war
4.1	1946-1952	

-5-

Thus 7.4 percent entered the CP during [REDACTED] the civil war, and 72.4 percent entered during the period of restoration of the economy and collectivization.

<u>AGES</u>	<u>Percentage [REDACTED] [of delegates?]</u>
Up to 35	59
36-40	177
41-50	61.1
Over 50	13.3

NATIONALITY

Thirty-seven different nationalities were represented, which demonstrates the friendship and fraternal cooperation which exist toward the Soviet peoples and how the CP raises high the banner of proletarian internationalism. It confirms the ^{Party's} theory of nationalities. The multinational composition of the delegates is the best proof that the party of Lenin and Stalin is the incarnation of indestructible friendship and fraternal cooperation among the nationalities of the USSR. ^I It holds high the banner of proletariaⁿ internationalism. ^{of the delegates,} 12.3 percent [REDACTED] were women; 147 of them were deliberative delegates. (In the XVIIIth Congress the percentage was 9).

Fifty percent of the delegates from the textile region of Joanov were women. Six^{Union} of the delegates were members of the Central Committee of the CP in a [REDACTED] Republic, 36 were secretaries of [REDACTED] Municipal Committees of townships and wards, 7 were secretaries of Party OB, 10 were activists with leading positions in soviets (councils), 4 were directors of enterprises, 19 were presidents of kolkhozes, 3 were directors of machine-tractor stations or of sovkhoses. Fourteen of the delegates were Heroes of Socialist Labor, 8 were winners of the Stalin Prize, 20 were deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and 26 were deputies of the Supreme Soviets of Union Republics.

Of the total number of delegates, 66 held the title of Hero of Socialist Labor; 62 ^[516] were Heroes of the OS. This shows that the members of the CP are those who best defended their Fatherland or who worked best for the development of socialism, those who embody proletarian internationalism, the best men and women in the USSR.

-5-

-6-

The Congress had 45 delegates from the ^{brother} Communist and Workers' parties of other countries throughout the world. This was a moving demonstration of the friendship of Communists of all countries ^{with} the Soviet peoples, a demonstration of unity and of cooperation of the Communist and Workers' parties, and of ~~the~~ ^{leader} their love for the ~~the~~ and friend of the nations, Comrade Stalin.

3. PRINCIPAL TEACHINGS OF THE XIXTH CONGRESS

As Comrade Prestes said in his April report, we must study and assimilate the teachings of the XIXth Congress, ~~we~~ we must ponder a rich period in which the ^a masses, millions strong, awoke to fight. ["] Until the XIXth Congress, the Soviet CP was a shock brigade of the world Communist movement. Afterwards a number of countries shook off imperialism, forming the camp of peace and socialism together with the USSR. During this period the ~~the~~ US ^{and} [SR] won unprecedented successes in the development of socialism, ^{and} the armies of Hitler were crushed, ["] says Comrade Voroshilov. ["] After the victorious conduct of the great patriotic war under the direction of the Party, the people of our country wrought miracles of heroism in labor, fulfilled ^{Stalin's} 4th postwar ~~the~~ Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule, and successfully completed the tasks assigned by the Party, to assure a new and ~~a~~ intensive rise in the socialist economy and culture.

["] Today we can say that our ~~the~~ Fatherland has never been so great and powerful, so full of vital forces and creative energy, as at the present moment." ["] (Speech before the XIXth Congress of the Soviet CP) ^{report}

The ~~the~~ of Comrade Malenkov to the XIXth Congress shows the great and invincible force of the Party and of the Soviet state. This report, which is an appraisal of the situation, reinforced the confidence of all Communists in victory and reveals the triumph of Marxism-Leninism which demands recognition as the only positive ^{science} ~~the~~ in the struggle of the ^{peoples} ~~the~~ for the triumph of Communism.

TEACHINGS

1. The XIXth Congress ^{reveals} ~~the~~ the achievements of the Soviet people

-6-

-7-

and the prospects which these achievements open up before the people of the whole world; it throws confusion into the ranks of the enemies of peace and socialism. The ~~plots~~ ^{plots} of these enemies who hoped to be able to hurl themselves against the USSR before she had recovered from her wartime wounds, disappeared; ~~the~~ ^{results} of the XIXth Congress demonstrated the vast advantages of the Soviet ~~system~~ ^{system} over the capitalist system.

"The Five-Year Plan for the Restoration and Promotion of the National Economy of the USSR for 1946-1950", says Comrade Saburov, "was ~~as~~ fulfilled through domestic resources, without the slightest aid from abroad, without foreign credits. The fulfillment of the 4th Five-Year Plan has still further strengthened the socialist system and was another great victory of the USSR: a victory which made it possible to continue to build up the power of the socialist state."

In 1952, the industrial production of the USSR was 230 percent of the 1940 figure. In 1950 the enemy was obliged to recognize that the USSR had recovered from the war and that he could not put his ~~own~~ hopes in the weakening of the USSR.

2. Advantages of the Soviet system.

The XIXth Congress heralds a new stage in the development of soviet society and indicates a gigantic forward step on the road toward Communism. The XIXth Congress is giving a new ~~impetus~~ spur to the international Communist movement. Today Communism is like a sickle which transforms the condition of the people, dominates nature, ~~and~~ multiplies ~~the~~ welfare and confidence in the strength of man and in the future. In the achievements of the policy of the Soviet CP, humanity sees that the USSR is serving her people and the people of the whole world, is helping the struggle of the workers and of all mankind.

3. The XIX Congress of the Soviet CP Marks the Beginning of a New Age in the History of Mankind

"Its great teachings," according to Prestes, "helped us understand the true relationship of social forces throughout the world, and it armed us Commun-

CONFIDENTIAL

-8-

ists so that we may continue, decisively and with clarity, the struggle for the defense of Peace, the struggle for democracy and national independence, the struggle for socialism throughout the world."

4. The XIXth Congress has revealed the vast power and the invincible might of the USSR and its growing strength in all countries. It has pointed out the conditions for the transition from socialism toward Communism. The power of the USSR continues to grow, and Comrade Malenkov can say, "There is no power in the world capable of slowing the forward development of Soviet society."

It can also be said that a new war [REDACTED] could only hasten the disintegration of the capitalist system.

5. The XIXth Congress reveals the powerful force of Proletarian Internationalism, showing the strengthening of the bonds which unite the vanguard of the working class, of the workers of the entire world, with the Soviet workers and the Soviet people. Actually today it is impossible to struggle for Peace, for national independence, for socialism, without the support of the USSR.

6. The XIXth Congress shows the force and the invincibility of the Party which serves Stalin. This was made clear in Malenkov's speech, which showed how everything is due to the Party, everything depends on the Party. In the victory over Nazism and in the building of socialism, the decisive factor was the Party.

The strength and the invincibility of the Party reside in:

- a. The unity of its [REDACTED] ranks;
- b. The supremacy of Marxist-Leninist theory;
- c. The indissoluble bonds which unite the Party with the masses.

7. The XIXth Congress showed the powerful force of Marxism-Leninism, the force of the conviction of creative Marxism. The experience of the Soviet CP shows that only a Party which is ruled by Marxist-Leninist theory can be victorious. We must bear in mind the remarks of Comrade Prestes on the necessity of raising our ideological level and on the necessity of combating dogmatism. It is necessary to study Marxism-Leninism and to apply it to our own conditions. Said Comrade Malenkov: "The man who is backward on the ideological and political plane, who

-8-

-9-

lives on fancy formulas and does not recognize what is new, the man who is incapable of orienting himself properly in the internal and external situation, cannot be at the head of the movement and is not worthy of so being. Life is bound to reject him sooner or later.

8. The XIXth Congress teaches us to make constant use of criticism and self-criticism which are honest and unafraid.

The XIXth Congress represents criticism and self-criticism as a force which will transform society. The young element of the Soviet CP consider ~~the~~ criticism and self-criticism as the duty of Party members; they consider the mere fact of not encouraging criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism on the cell level, as incompatible with membership in the Party.

9. The XIXth Congress is a great lesson in sobriety, simplicity, and in the logic of debate, which were apparent in the statements and in the behavior of all the delegates. In the USSR the active members always dissatisfied, uncompromising with the defects in their work, and indefatigable in their dedication to the Party.

The principal conclusions of the XIXth Congress for the new Party are as follows:

It is necessary to develop throughout the Party and in every one of its members a spirit of unlimited fidelity to the USSR, the land of the proletariat and the fatherland of the people of the entire world. The nationalists of all shades of opinion are trying to impose conditions on the USSR and its peace policy, with the purpose of diverting the people from the road to national liberty. Every moment of support from the USSR immediately, or rather inevitably, brings national attraction. The mere existence of the USSR facilitates the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for their liberation. Fidelity to the USSR arms our Party for decisive struggle against ~~imperialist~~ imperialist domination and for independent development; in understanding this, one understands everything. This also is the deep significance of Prestes' statement that our people will never make war on the USSR; this is an internationalist and patriotic attitude.

-9-

-10-

2. The necessity for us to develop throughout the Party, and within each one of us Communists, unlimited fidelity to the glorious Soviet CP and to its wise ~~Stalinist~~ Stalinist Central Committee. To ignore these things and the experience of the Soviet CP means to fall into the most profound error; it means separation from the fact of internationalism, even though internationalism be proclaimed in words." (Lenin).

It is our duty, therefore, to learn more from the Soviet CP. We can learn more rapidly from the experience and the teachings of the Soviet CP in our progress toward liberation. Only in the light of the teachings of the Party shall we be able to install a people's democratic regime in our country and shall we be able to proceed toward the building of socialism. Our highest task is to build this Party.

3. The necessity of developing greater respect for the memory of Stalin throughout the Party and in every Communist. We must vindicate Stalin and make his teachings a guide for action.

Comrade Prestes said in his report of April 1953 (Prob. 45): "Our Party was born at a time when illness and then death deprived mankind of the great Lenin; thus one can say that it lived and grew under the solicitous and paternal direction of Lenin's best ~~disciple~~ disciple, the ~~genius~~ genius who continued his work, our beloved comrade Stalin.

To his name the most significant events in the life of our Party are indissolubly linked.

It was with the name of Stalin on their lips that our martyrs and heroes succeeded in facing death and all kinds of torture with serenity and ~~determination~~ determination. It was always with their thoughts concentrated on Stalin that our best comrades who distinguished themselves in Party activity, found the strength to ~~meet~~ meet every test and to overcome the most difficult obstacles." The ~~documents~~ ^{docs-} documents of the XIXth Congress are programmatic documents, are new and important weapons in the hands of the Party. They are sources of specific teachings, whose proper comprehension, assimilation, and application are indispensable in ~~the~~ ^{advancing} ~~the~~ documents of the XIXth Congress, ~~the~~ ^{has} strengthened our faith in

-11-

and have
victory given more enthusiasm for the struggle, while fortifying our certainty of ultimate victory. With these documents, we are armed with a great arsenal of ideas of creative Marxism.

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Questions

1. Why does the XIXth Congress have world-wide historical importance?
2. What are the principal teachings of the XIXth Congress?
3. What are the principal conclusions that we may draw from the XIXth Congress for our Party?
4. Do the tasks outlined in the XIXth Congress apply only to the Soviet CP?
5. Why was the XIXth Congress the greatest demonstration of internationalism?
6. What is the meaning for our Party of its participation, for the first time in its history, in a Congress of the Party of Lenin and Stalin?
7. What does the composition of the XIXth Congress indicate?
8. What is internationalism?
9. What is nationalism?
10. What is patriotism?
11. Why is it right to speak of order in our Party? Will our people ever make war on the USSR?
12. What is the role of the Soviet CP in the international Communist movement?

-11-

25X1

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LECTURE TWO

CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY
POLITICAL ECONOMY -- ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ FOR THE STUDY OF 25X1
THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

1. Importance of the study of political economy.
2. ~~XXXXXXXX~~, value, and function of the law of value in the capitalist system.
3. ~~XXXXXXXX~~, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ surplus value, capital.
4. The law of competition and of anarchy.
5. Formation of ~~XXXX~~ average ~~XXXXXX~~ profit; what is surplus profit?; the organic composition of capital and of the tendency toward reduction of the average profit.
6. Reproduction of capital; Production Sections; formation and purpose of social funds.
7. Conclusions.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

1. Importance of the study of political economy.

The definition used is the one approved and published in the Manual of Political Economy.

Political Economy is the science which studies the laws of social production and of the distribution of material goods in the various stages of development of human society.

Political economy also ~~XXXXXX~~ considers the laws according to which men produce and exchange the material goods of consumption. This study is not limited to a single society, but considers the economic laws in effect before capitalism, ~~XXXXXX~~ capitalism, and under socialism. The study of political economy has great importance for Communists. In studying the economic laws of capitalism we have proof that the capitalist system of production is doomed to disappear, giving way to another system of capitalist production, which in turn is doomed to disappear, giving way to another and more advanced system, i.e. the socialist system. Political economy studies the most important laws, the critical laws of social development. In this connection Stalin said in his work "On Dialectical and Historical Materialism":

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"A society ~~is~~ conforms basically to the system of production which exists in that society, and so do its ideas and its theories, its political ~~principles~~ principles and institutions."

In this connection, Stalin said further:

"This means that the Party of the Proletariat must, in order to be a true party, ~~know~~ the laws of the economic development of society, ~~the laws of the development of production.~~"

"This means that in politics, if the Party ^{of the Proletariat} is not to fall into error, it must ~~take~~ ^{above all} take as its point of departure the laws of the development of society, the laws of the economic development of society, both as regards the shaping of its program and as regards its practical activity."

Marxist political economy is the only exact political economy, the only one with scientific validity. Before Marx and Engels, bourgeois economists, especially Englishmen like Adam Smith and Ricardo, the so-called classics, worked out certain principles of ~~bourgeois~~ economics, but of ~~bourgeois~~ bourgeois economics, a fallacious economics which envisages ~~the~~ exploitation by the bourgeoisie, which contains nothing scientific and which has failed completely in its predictions. On the other hand the proletariat does not ~~know~~ ^{fear} the truth about social life; ~~it is~~ it is ~~the~~ vitally interested in the development of political ~~and~~ and scientific economics, which correspond to the interests of the proletariat. True Marxist economics, capable of accurate scientific predictions. In this connection Stalin, speaking on the significance of the Manual of Political Economy, mentioned the importance which they have, not only for the ~~people~~ people of the USSR, but also for Communists throughout the world (Problem No 43, page 60). The study of political economy is fundamental if we are to understand the laws of social development. Only through knowing them shall we be able to outline a successful policy.

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^{Merchandise}
2. ~~Value~~, Value, and Function of the Law of Value in the Capitalist System

Commercial production is the production of products intended for sale and merchandise, exchange in the market. It is the production of ~~products~~, that is, of products

intended not for direct sale by the producer but for exchange in the market.

Value of merchandise: All merchandise may be regarded from two different points of view: "use value", and "value", which latter is expressed in terms of exchange value.

Use Value: the [redacted] ability of the merchandise to satisfy any human need.

Value is the ability of the merchandise to embody [redacted] abstract human labor and to be exchanged for other equivalent merchandise.

All merchandise involves this contradiction between use value and value. In the capitalist system this contradiction is antagonistic. In the capitalist system, [redacted] what matters is not use value but value. What matters to the capitalist is obtaining value so that he may obtain profit. If he cannot obtain value, the capitalist is not interested in use value and does not turn the merchandise over for consumption, but destroys it. In the capitalist system, people can enjoy use value only if they can pay the capitalist [redacted] the value of the merchandise. This double nature of merchandise reflects the basic contradiction of commercial production, where private ownership of the means of production exists: the contradiction between social labor and private labor. Every producer, with his work, [redacted] engages in social production; but no one is self-sufficient; everyone needs the work of others and the others need his. On the other hand, the worker does private work, produces without taking into consideration ^{in his planning} the needs of society.

[redacted] The germ of this contradiction exists in simple commercial production, but it is under capitalism that it reaches its peak. Under capitalism the social nature of work is apparent only when the producer takes his product to the market; it is apparent then, not directly, but through the exchange of merchandise.

What determines ^{the} value ^{of merchandise} (exchange value): Merchandise [redacted] is very diverse in nature. [redacted]. How is it possible to exchange this merchandise, to exchange one type for another? What makes it possible to compare merchandise, to exchange

one type for another in a fixed proportion, is the fact that all merchandise is derived from abstract human labor. It is this abstract labor, the amount of work done on the merchandise, which determines its value.

The value of merchandise, then, is determined by the amount of human labor involved in its production.

The greater the ^{*amount of work time spent*} ~~the~~ on the production of a commodity, the greater is its value. The ^{*time*} ~~work~~ here, is the average time spent by a worker of average skill, under definite historical conditions and in definite places. What determines the value of the merchandise is not, then, the ~~rate~~ rate of an individual's work but the rate of work required for the production of a definite article under average conditions of production, with an average degree of skill on the part of the workers under the historical conditions of a definite country or region (socially necessary rate of work).

The Law of Value as a Spontaneous Regulator of Circulation and of Production:

Merchandise can be exchanged only and always in accordance with its value. No, merchandise is rarely exchanged according to its exact value. When ~~it~~ it is placed on the market, merchandise receives a price, which is its value expressed in money. But the price almost never corresponds exactly to the value, because the price fluctuates in accordance with market conditions, in accordance with supply and demand. Value always remains unchanged, like an axle around which ^{*the fluctuations*} prices fluctuate. As ~~above and below value balance each other~~, the commodities are sold, in the last analysis, over a more or less extended period, in accordance with their value, or a ^{*group*} ~~of commodities~~ of commodities is sold according to the total value of the commodities, ^{*although*} ~~the majority of the commodities~~ ~~may have been sold individually for less or more than their value.~~ The law of value operates, under capitalism, as a spontaneous regulator of circulation and of production. The law of value also acts ~~under capitalism as a regulator of the distribution of labor among the various branches of production.~~ However, the law of value under capitalism is a spontaneous and therefor uncontrollable regulator.

Labor force
3. Surplus Value, Capital

The law of value is the basic law of the production of merchandise (development).

Said Lenin: "Capitalism is the production of merchandise in the highest stage of its development, when its labor force is transformed into merchandise."

He also said: "Capitalist production is characterized from the beginning by two peculiar features: 1) it produces products as merchandise, and 2) the production of surplus value is an incentive which determines production."

Therefore, paid labor is the characteristic form of labor under capitalism.

Labor force: Said Marx: "The term Labor Force, or capacity for labor, means the combination of mental and physical conditions which exist in a human being and which he employs whenever he produces use value."

In the capitalist system, the workers do not own the means of production.

They own only their capacity for labor. If they are not to die of starvation, the workers must sell their labor force to the capitalists, who are the material owners of the means of production. The capitalists buy labor force because it is "a commodity, the use value of which has the peculiar property of being the source of value" (Marx).

Only labor force creates value. It is the only source of value. Without labor force the means of production would be inert. In the process of primitive liquidation by capital, the producers, ~~the rural elements~~ ^{were} expelled from their lands. Because of hunger, the rural elements went to the cities, converting themselves into paid laborers.

Labor force is not the same thing as labor. Marx said: "Capitalism buys labor force in order to use it. Labor force in use is labor itself."

The value of labor force is determined in the same way as the value of all other commodities.

Marx said: "The value of labor force is determined by the value of the necessities of life habitually required by the ~~average worker~~ average worker."

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Labor force is the only commodity which ^{is} always priced ~~at less than its value~~ in the market, at less than its value. In the sale of labor force, the worker ~~is~~ is entitled only to a wage; what the worker produces with his labor force belongs to the capitalist.

What is Surplus Value, and How is it Produced?

8-Hour Day

10 mts [~~minutes?~~], 4 hours, 200.00 10 mts, 4 hours, 200.00

100.00 wages

100.00 raw material

100.00 materials

100.00 surplus value

Necessary work

Supplementary work

The raw material which the worker transforms into merchandise is ^{former} ~~the~~ value. The worker transfers ^{the value} already existing ^{in himself} ~~the~~ into machines, etc., ^{to the} ~~the~~ merchandise.

But the ~~the~~ worker also creates new value.

Surplus value is the excess of value created by the worker over and above the value of his labor force, an excess which the capitalists pocket freely because they own the means of production.

Rate
The Rate of Surplus Value is the ratio between the amount of surplus value and the wage. The ~~rate~~ of surplus value indicates the degree of exploitation to which the worker is subject.

$$\frac{\text{Surplus Value}}{\text{Wage}} = \text{Rate of Surplus Value}$$

Capital: Value is merely dead labor, crystallized labor: "capital is dead labor which lives, like a vampire, by sucking live labor."

Capital is a definite social ^{relationships} ~~relationships~~.

In capitalism, capital ~~appears~~ appears in the form of money used to ^{the} purchase/means of production and labor force used in production.

4. The Law of Competition and of Anarchy in Production

Under the conditions of capitalism, competition and anarchy in production prevail and reach a ^{maximum} ~~degree~~ degree.

^{They stem} ~~from~~ from the beginning of commercial production, since where production exists, the private ownership of the means of production is not subject to

and it has a temporary character, disappearing as new methods of production or new [products?] become widespread.

Organic Composition of Capital: The capital which is used by the capitalist is divided into two parts: One is used in the purchase of manpower, i.e. ~~the~~ represents wages. This is the part which grows and which is called variable capital (V).

~~The~~ The term "organic composition of capital" is applied to the ~~the~~ percentage ratio between constant capital and variable capital. The greater the percentage of constant capital as compared to variable capital, the higher will be the organic composition of capital; the less the proportion, the lower will be the organic composition of capital. The lower the organic composition of capital, the higher will be the rate of profit, and vice versa.

<u>Country</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>Profit</u>	<u>Rate of Profit</u>
A	8	8	8	50%
B	60	20	20	25%

Tendency of the Average Rate of Profit to Drop

Capitalism, as it develops, demands an increasingly high organic composition as the constant capital continues to rise. Thus, as it develops, capitalism inevitably makes its average rate of profit lower and lower; and the capitalists try to compensate for this by increasing surplus value.

The production of capital etc. involves the necessity for reproduction, as the goods are consumed.

Capitalist reproduction is the process of capitalist reproduction; it can be simple or expanded.

Simple reproduction is reproduction in which the capital is not increased during the process of production; the capitalist spends all the surplus value.

Expanded reproduction takes place when the capitalist applies part of the surplus value to the expansion of production. It involves previous accumulation, or transformation, of part of the surplus value into capital. Capital can increase only in case of expanded reproduction.

Sectors of production: All social production consists of 2 sectors, 1) the

sector which produces the means of production, and 2) that which produces consumer goods. Whatever the method of production, if expanded reproduction is to take place, the first sector must increase more rapidly than the second. (This holds true for any method of production).

Social Funds, Their Formation and Purpose

The total product of the workers of a country during a predetermined period is distributed among social funds.

The Compensation Fund is intended to replace expenditures made during production, or constant capital. It does not represent new value; it existed, it was transferred to the product, and it must be returned to production.

National Income is the new value created by the workers during a definite period. The national income is distributed into 2 large funds: the Consumption Fund, which is intended ^{to be spent} for the subsistence of the population, and the Accumulation Fund, which is intended to supply new value for expanded reproduction (Prob. 43, Pages 81-83).

VII. Political economy unmask the conditions of the ~~life~~ life of the exploited working class and the final conditions of its emancipation.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the importance of the study of political economy for the Party of the Proletariat?
2. What are use value and value?
3. What is the function of the law of value in the capitalist system, and how does it operate?
4. Why must the worker sell his labor force, and why must the capitalist buy it?
5. What is surplus value and how is it ~~created~~ created?
6. What are the prerequisites for the existence of capitalism? What is capital?
7. What is the law of competition and of anarchy?
8. ~~How~~ How is the average rate of profit created?
9. Why does the rise in organic composition lead to a reduction of the average rate of profit?

10. What are simple and expanded reproduction of capital?
11. What are the basic sectors of social production?
12. How are the social funds created and used, and what is Stalin's doctrine on the Marxist schemes of reproduction?

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Capital is a definite social relationship (Marx)

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The conditions for the existence of capitalism are, in the first place, the transformation of everything into merchandise and the production of surplus value as an incentive to production.

Price is the monetary expression of value.

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Political Economy, Third Lecture:

The Teachings of Stalin and Lenin on Imperialism

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SUMMARY

1. Imperialism, the higher phase of capitalism.
2. Fundamental characteristics of imperialism.
3. Fundamental contradictions of imperialism.
4. Cyclic crises, general crises, and their ~~stages~~ stages; the crisis of the capitalist system of world economy.
5. Break-up of the single world market. The capitalist market and the imperialist market. Two theses which Stalin ~~says~~ says have been superseded.
6. Inevitability of war among the imperialist countries.
7. The nature of the present Peace movement -- its objective, tasks, and prospects.
8. Inevitability of the replacement of imperialism by socialism.

Chapter V - Imperialism is the higher phase of capitalism.

At a definite moment in its history, capitalism entered the particular phase which is called imperialism. Imperialism, according to Lenin, is the higher phase of capitalism, its final stage. It is capitalism in its death throes, decaying, doomed to disappear to make room for socialism. Upon reaching this stage, capitalism acquires characteristics which are incompatible with its own existence. Exploitation has become so brutal that no one can endure it. Lenin teaches that free competition is the fundamental characteristic of capitalism, of the production of merchandise. Imperialism substitutes monopoly for free competition. Capitalism arises from free competition, but in trying to eliminate it, makes it still more acute. The capitalism of free competition reached its greatest prosperity between 1860 and 1880, but even in this period it already knew how to create monopolies which, after 1880, proceeded to dominate decisively the entire capitalist economy, causing the rise of imperialism. In imperialism the decisive factor is monopoly: as Lenin said, "Imperialism is the monopolistic phase of capitalism."

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The rise of imperialism faced the workers' movement with grave and entirely new problems. The period of relatively peaceful development of the end of the XIXth century had passed, and a period of world wars and revolutions, as was ^{soon} shown [redacted] by the Russian Revolution in 1905, *was begun.*

After the bourgeois revolutions, which took place after 1792, capitalism entered its ascendant period, with a long period of peace. With profits wrenched from the colonies, capitalism fattened the trade-union leaders, creating the "working-class aristocracy."

"reformers" of Marxism,

This led to the rise of the [redacted], such as Bernstein [sic] in Germany, who said that certain Marxist theories were no longer applicable. The great service of Lenin [redacted] lay in having provided the international workers' movement with a complete and finished theory of imperialism, giving the proletariat the theoretical weapon it needed to fulfill the new revolutionary tasks.

II -- Fundamental Characteristics of Imperialism

Lenin teaches that there are 5 of these characteristics:

1) The concentration of production of capital reached such a point (such a high degree) of development that it created monopolies, which [redacted] played a decisive part in economic life.

In the process of competition, the ^{stronger elements} [redacted] in every cycle of operation of the law of value [redacted] took over the capital that had belonged to the weaker.

2) The merger of banking capital with industrial capital and the creation of a financial oligarchy on the basis of this capital.

3) The export of capital, becomes particularly important, and more so than the export of merchandise.

4) The formation of monopolistic international associations by capitalists, who divide the world among themselves.

5) The end of the territorial division of the world among the most important imperialist powers.

Free competition gives rise to monopoly, which can arise from concentration and centralization of capital.

Concentration arises when an enterprise attempts to accumulate capital and to undertake expanded reproduction.

Centralization takes place when various ^{competing} enterprises form a single enterprise and transform themselves into a gigantic monopolistic enterprise.

1) Sometimes a monopoly is formed from new capital and sometimes from a merger of already existing capital.

The basis of the rise of monopoly is a development of the productive forces which demands large-scale capital, especially in heavy industry, where the transfer of capital is very difficult to achieve.

Monopolies can greatly reduce the cost price by taking advantage of every last scrap of raw material. This is what happens in the production of steel, petroleum, etc. The most important types of monopoly are the most primitive type and the present type, that is, the type which arises when various capitalists enter into an agreement to fix prices, to divide the market among themselves, to decide the volume of production, etc. There is no merger of enterprises. This is a ^{precarious} form of monopoly. Example: the agreement between GE and ^{the AEG} (German) in 1907.

The syndicate or consortium is a more advanced type than the cartel. It arises when various large enterprises enter into an agreement and create a new enterprise, without dissolving the original enterprises, ^{which} performs various operations for them. Example: Morgan, Rockefeller, Cleveland, etc. created an enterprise for atomic research.

Trust -- the highest form of monopoly. Trusts are enterprises in which an individual is in control. Sometimes, as ^{in the case of} companies, shares are many and diffused; but there is always one shareholder who is in control (petroleum enterprises give the appearance of being independent).

A combine is a type of trust in which related enterprises are joined. Rockefeller owns oil wells, pipelines, a refinery for by-products, transport facilities, and sales outlets.

Monopoly ~~arises~~ arises from free competition, but ~~does~~ does not eliminate competition, which becomes more acute. ~~Competition occurs~~ among giants of capital, ^{ch} who hold in their hands vast ~~means~~ means of production. This competition occurs between actual monopolies, ~~among~~ among the monopolies of a single country, among monopolies of different countries, and between monopolistic and non-monopolistic enterprises. By virtue of the law of anarchic development, no monopoly succeeds in winning a permanent position. The development of certain branches of production breaks certain monopolies. For example, coal and ~~petroleum~~ petroleum, railroads, aircraft, and automobiles. Also the rise of synthetics breaks the monopoly of certain raw materials. Competition also arises ~~between~~ ~~between~~ ~~between~~ between capitalist enterprises, or rather monopolistic enterprises, and nonmonopolistic enterprises, ^{relatively exceptional} which survive in cases.

2) In the period of free competition, ^{of capitalism,} the banks played the part of an intermediary in the distribution of available capital.

Obviously, in so doing the banks retained some of the surplus value. In the period of decaying capitalism, with the rise of the monopolies there ¹ arose huge banks which control entire branches of production. The monopolies also establish banks of their own. A so-called "personal union" of banks and of commercial and industrial monopolies takes place. Financial oligarchies are formed. In the US there are 60 families which constitute eight financial groups. Financial capital is born.

← 1. Rockefeller

a. 2. Standard Oil (New Jersey? [sic], Indianapolis, California)

b. X. Saco Vacuum Oil

c. X. Ohio - Oil [sic]

d. Metropolitan Life ~~Insurance~~ ^X Insurance

e. Equitable Life Insurance

f. Bethlehem Steel

g. Chase National Banks

h. Coca Cola

i. International Paper

j. American Coffee

Controls 27 billion dollars.

2. Morgan:

a. First National Bank

b. National City Bank of New York

c. US Steel

d. General Electric

e. Monsanto Chemical

Two Morgan enterprises, American [Can?] Company and Continental, control most of the packaged food ~~industry~~ industry.

Morgan has an interest in Coca Cola.

[Morgan?]

→ J.B. American Telephone & Telegraph, controls railroads, two insurance companies, Panair, and American Sugar Refining.

Controls 55 billion dollars.

3. Chicago Group

a. First National Bank of Chicago

b. International Harvester

c. Armour and part of Wilson.

Working capital, 9 billion dollars.

4. Boston Group

a. First National Bank of Boston

b. United Shoe [sic]

c. Mantel Fruit

Working capital, 6 billion dollars.

5. Cleveland Group

a. Goodyear

b. Republic Steel

c. Wilson Refrigerator

d. First Bank of Cleveland [?]

Working capital, 3 billion dollars.

6. Du Pont Group

- a. General Motors (41 percent of the vehicles in the US)
 - b. Du Pont Industries (22 percent of the chemical industry of the US)
 - c. US Rubber
 - d. Du Pont National Bank of Detroit
- Working capital 6 billion dollars.

7. Mellon

- a. Gulf Oil
 - b. Alcoa (aluminum)
 - c. Pittsburgh Consolidated [word illegible]
 - d. Mellon National Bank
- Working capital 6 billion dollars.

8. Kulm Morb [sic] (Kulm-Lueb)

has working capital of
The largest railroads, one of which [redacted] 2 billion dollars.

- a. Bethlehem Steel
 - b. Western Union Telegraph
 - c. Bank of Manhattan
- 10 billion, 3 million dollars.

Morgan has [redacted] also ^{the} entered Light [redacted]

In Item 4 of Chapter VIII of Economic Problems, Stalin points out that
do [redacted] merely blend in with the [redacted]
the monopolies [redacted] not [redacted] government, [redacted]
they subordinate ^{it} entirely to their own interests.

3) In the period of ascendant capitalism, the export of merchandise was predominant (Example - England). In the period of imperialism, the export of capital is becoming more important, because there is no very profitable way for the monopolies to invest their excess capital in their own countries. Thus the monopolies turn to semicolonial and dependent countries to obtain maximum profits. At the beginning of the XXth century the export of capital [began?].
In England the amount grew from 62 billion in 1902 to 75 billion in 1914, or 190 billion francs.
In France it grew from 27 or 37 billion to 60 billion; in Germany from 12.5 billion to 44 billion.

The export of capital is much more a form of exploitation of backward countries than is the export of merchandise, since the former drains these countries of part of their national income.

4). The monopolies control the governments and divide among themselves the markets and the spheres of influence for the export of capital etc. They create a unique net of interests. A world economic system is created.

They ~~partition~~ partition the world.

In ascendant capitalism, new nations which developed could occupy territory freely, as long as the markets were not exploited. For this reason there were no conflicts between the old and the new capitalist countries.

In imperialism, every conquest by an imperialist country involves the seizure of markets, colonies, etc. from other imperialist countries.

III. Stalin shows that there are 3 fundamental contradictions of imperialism:

1. Between labor and capital
2. ~~Among~~ Among the various imperialist countries
3. Between the imperial countries and the colonies and dependencies.

1. The first contradiction has existed since the rise of capitalism; it is but in the imperialistic period that it becomes much more acute. The exploitation of the workers is great, in order that the monopolies may be able to compete among themselves through terrible exploitation, as the/mechanical ~~conditions~~ conditions are such as to exhaust the/physical constitutions of the ~~workers~~ workers. This also increases ~~poverty~~ poverty. All these things force the worker to revolt or perish.

This is the basic contradiction of imperialism.

2. The financial oligarchies lead their countries into merciless competition with one another. This also becomes more intense because of the effect of the unequal development of capitalism discussed by Lenin. In the phase of capitalism this was not so serious. In the monopolistic phase, development takes place in spurts. One country gets ahead; it divides the world, and this brings on a world war. The ~~balance~~ balance of power changes rapidly, leading inevitably

-37-

much more

The export of capital is/a form of exploitation of ~~backward countries~~
~~much more~~ than export of merchandise is, since it

to ~~the~~ wars among imperialist powers. This is possible because the countries which do not have colonial empires try to defeat those that have, through technical superiority, as Germany did at the beginning of the XXth century, outstripping France and England in the markets of the period. Likewise the US was a debtor nation before World War I, while at the end of that war it was a creditor. Thus the ~~conflicts~~ among imperialists become intensified. They constitute an indirect reserve which is very important for the proletarian revolution, as was shown during the coup of the ^{Russian} proletariat in 1917.

3. The colonies and dependencies constitute an indispensable and integral part of the imperialist system, The oppressing countries subject ~~them~~ to systematic pillage and suck off part of the surplus value produced by the workers. The oppressing countries permit only the production of products in which they have an interest, i.e. raw materials and foodstuffs.

They depend on the most decadent classes; they are tied up with feudalism; and they constitute a system of exploitation pure and simple.

For all these reasons, the dependencies advance farther and farther along the road toward national independence. Consequently this contradiction is intensified more and more all the time and hastens the irremediable ruin of imperialism.

IV. Cyclic, ~~and~~ General, ~~and~~ other Crises
crises

Cyclic ~~crises~~ are periodic economic crises which are inevitable in capitalism. They are crises which proceed from a situation of overproduction of goods, which do not find buyers among the exploited and poverty-stricken masses. They lead to factory shutdowns, unemployment, destruction of products, etc. Since 1825, ~~crises~~ have recurred on an average of every 10 years. They caused prices to drop, and by renewing its fixed capital, capitalism succeeded in producing more cheaply, introducing a new basis for prosperity with more modern machines, with more complicated productive forces. This was what happened in the ascendant phase of capitalism.

The general crisis of the capitalist system is the period of its decline

and fall. It is not periodic, ~~periodic~~ but intermittent. It is a crisis which began during ~~the~~ World War I; ~~it~~ it continues now and will extend until the final disappearance of capitalism. It faces problems which can no longer be solved. It is multilateral; it is both economic and political. One of the factors which intensifies the general crisis is the existence of the USSR, which intensifies all the conflicts among imperialists. Stalin teaches us that the general crisis of the capitalist system already has had two stages, corresponding to the two world wars. These stages should not be regarded as isolated crises, separate from each other, as independent crises, but as stages of development of the general crisis of the world capitalist system.

During the general crisis there is an increasing intensification of the cyclic crises, they do not ~~occur~~ occur more frequently, they ~~last longer~~ last longer, there is no period of prosperity between them, and sometimes production fails to achieve the previous levels. The most devastating of these crises was the depression of 1929-33, which is estimated to have caused more damage than World War I.

The crises of the capitalist system of the world economy: as discussed by Stalin, they are times of sudden ~~and violent deterioration~~ and violent deterioration in economic relations among imperialist states, resulting in political and finally military conflicts, leading to world war between two blocs of states in a struggle for a new distribution of territory or spheres of influence. The period of general crisis determines and conditions the spacing of these crises.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Single

V. Disintegration of the ~~Single~~ World Market

Stalin said in ~~his~~ "Economic Problems" that the most important economic result of World War II and of its economic consequences was the disintegration of the single world market. With the division of the world into two camps, two parallel and opposing markets came into existence.

The imperialist countries contributed to the rise and development of the socialist market by trying to smother it. But the principal reason ~~was~~ not the

blockade, but ~~the~~ the ^{cooperation} ~~economic~~ and mutual/assistance in the democratic and socialist market. This was based on coöperation, and ~~the~~ therefore it is prospering, and its capacity for consumption is increasing, ~~more~~ more and more all the time.

The capitalist market was based on exploitation and on slavery, ~~and~~ ~~the law of the stronger prevails, its~~ The law of the stronger prevails, its consumption capacity is declining, and production is down. ~~These conditions tend to grow worse, as Comrade Stalin shows. The deteriora-~~ tion consists in the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, ~~and~~ *in conjunction with* the disintegration of the single world market. Besides these facts, there are two Marxist theses which Comrade Stalin considers ^{to be} superseded.

a. Stalin's thesis on the relative stability of the markets in the period of the general crisis of capitalism (formulated before World War II)

b. Lenin's thesis, formulated in the spring of 1916, ~~since which time capitalism has been growing much faster than before, regardless of the decomposition of capitalism in general.~~

VI. Inevitability of Wars for Imperialist Countries

Since World War II, the thesis has been formed that no more wars could take place among capitalist countries, because the conflicts between the camp of socialism and the camp of capitalism have become stronger than the ~~conflicts~~ conflicts among the capitalist countries.

Comrade Stalin shows, in "The ³Economic Revolution", that this thesis is erroneous, and that wars among imperialists will continue inevitably, because ~~the~~ contradictions and ~~the~~ unequal development continue to exist. Theoretically, the thesis of stronger conflict between the two camps is correct, but in practice war against the socialist camp is not inevitable, since capitalism fears a ~~life-and-death~~ life-and-death struggle. The capitalists know that war will not be started by the USSR, and that ~~the starting of such a war will always be up to them. The inevitability of wars will be destroyed only with the destruction of imperialism.~~

VII. The Nature of the Present Movement for Peace, etc.

Stalin said that the nature of the present peace movement is not socialist, but rather democratic, including social classes, political ~~tendencies~~ ^{joined} tendencies, and personalities of the most varied ~~types~~ types, in a common struggle to prevent a new war.

Its purpose is not the destruction of capitalism, but the democratic objective of ~~struggling~~ struggling for the maintenance of peace, to prevent new wars, regardless of ~~differences~~ differences of social systems. The tasks of the present movement of the Partisans of Peace consists in raising the organizational level of the partisans of peace, of organizing and ~~helping~~ ^{helping} the masses in the struggle for peace, restraining and isolating the authors of war, relieving international tension, and solving international differences through ~~agreements~~ agreements.

Prob. 43 (page 55) Prospects:

- a. Evolution toward a movement to destroy capitalism.
- b. To ~~prevent~~ prevent war, to postpone it, to keep the peace, the destroy warlike governments.

VIII. Inevitability, etc.

Imperialism creates the objective premises for the establishment of socialism. But in this phase, the basic contradiction of capitalism is tremendously aggravated. Imperialism is parasitic capitalism, which develops into a system of destruction of man by man.

QUESTIONS

1. Does monopolistic capital eliminate competition and anarchy?
2. What are the fundamental characteristics of imperialism?
3. What are the basic contradictions of imperialism?
4. What is the difference between the cyclic crisis, the general crisis, and the crisis of the capitalist system of world economy?
5. What are the stages of the general crisis of capitalism?
6. What are the causes of the disintegration of the single world market, and what are the characteristics of the two world markets?

7. Why are wars inevitable among imperialist countries?
8. What is the nature of the present movement for peace?
9. Why is imperialism, parasitic and dying capitalism?
10. Why is the replacement of imperialism by socialism inevitable?

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Next 11 Page(s) In Document Denied

25X1

The Bourgeoisie in the First Stage of the Revolution

- I. The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution will not ^{touch} ~~the~~ the ~~phases~~ of capitalism.
- II. Objective and subjective possibilities to win the support of the national bourgeoisie.
- III. Relations between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie in the united revolutionary front.
- IV. Failure to understand our position regarding the national bourgeoisie.
- V. Conditions for the non-capitalist development of the democratic-popular regime.
- VI. Conclusions.

I. The Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Feudal Revolution Will Not Touch the Bases of Capitalism.

In his report to the Fourth Congress, Comrade ARRUDA says: "The program does not take up the struggle for the ^{confiscation} ~~the~~ or ~~the~~ nationalization of the banks, companies, and capital of the great Brazilian bourgeoisie. It guarantees liberty of initiative to industries and internal commerce, and defense of national industry; it establishes that we shall include in the program various demands that simultaneously aim at caring for the need for progress of the Brazilian nation and ~~the~~ reflect the interests of the national bourgeoisie.

Regarding the great capitalists who are connected with our foreign policies, we shall give them an alternative: if they are not disloyal and if they do not collaborate with the North American imperialists, their capital and their companies will be respected; if they are disloyal, if they ally themselves with the North American imperialists, they will be ^{taken} ~~to~~ to the the people's courts and their capital and their companies will be confiscated.

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This just orientation aims at weakening, separating, and breaking the bloc of great Brazilian capitalists connected with North American imperialism.

II. The Objective Factors that Enable the Winning of the National Bourgeoisie
Are As Follows:

1. The semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of the Brazilian economy which is reflected in the situation of backwardness and oppression of all the Brazilian people, including the national bourgeoisie.

2. The law of the compulsory correspondence between the production relations and nature of the productive forces which demands the elimination of the semi-feudal production relations.

3. The action of the fundamental economic law of contemporary capitalism which transforms Brazil into a source of maximum profits for the North American imperialist monopolies, ruining the Brazilian people and threatening the national bourgeoisie with failure.

4. The fundamental tasks of the revolution in its first stage do not aim at attacking the bases of capitalism, but exclusively toward the diminishing of the North American imperialist yoke, the bond of large landed estates, and the feudal vestiges.

5. The process of differentiation that is seen in the Brazilian bourgeoisie, placing into more and more open opposition the great capitalists linked with imperialism and the national bourgeoisie.

6. The existence of the socialist world market which offers the broadest perspectives of commercial exchange and of economic aid to the countries struggling for their independent national development.

The situation of the national bourgeoisie grows more difficult, their possibility of expansion is limited day by day. Whole branches of industry are threatened with failure.

The concrete facts demonstrate the difficult situation in which the national bourgeoisie finds itself.

The monopoly of the production of electric energy by the North American imperialists strangles the national industry.

The exchange policy of the government serving North American imperialism makes increasingly difficult the acquisition of equipment and material, or rather raw material for the national industry.

The national bourgeoisie suffers ^{from} the competition of North American products which invade the domestic market; and they encounter enormous obstacles in gaining a foreign market. The prohibition of trading with the socialist market, imposed by the North American imperialists, greatly affects the national bourgeoisie.

The policy of retraction of credit severely affects the interests of the national bourgeoisie, and it is carried out through the direct order of the International Economics Bank ^{controlled} by the government of the US.

The subjective factors that make possible the utilization of the objective factors and the ^{effective} conquest of the national bourgeoisie for the revolutionary camp are the following:

1. The concrete demands of the national bourgeoisie.
2. The broad united front policy followed by the Party of the working class.
3. The just utilization of the class struggle to ^{put pressure on} the national bourgeoisie.
4. The utilization of the contradictions within the dominant class itself, contradictions that bring about clashes between the national bourgeoisie and the great capitalists connected with North American imperialism.
5. The worker-peasant alliance under the direction of the proletariat, the indistructible foundation of the b.a.l.n. [FDLN?]
6. The existence of the strong and powerful Communist Party.

The Party Program reflects ~~concretely~~ concretely the demands of the national bourgeoisie when it assures:

Liberty of initiative for industry and international commerce, with protection for the interests of the nation and the welfare of the people.

Ease in acquiring equipment and raw materials.

Free development of industry of peace.

Prohibition on import of articles that compete with national products.

Regulation of foreign commerce in defense of national production.

Reform of the tax system, measures against inflation, stability of the national currency, etc.

Possibilities and collaboration with the popular democratic state in undertakings of an economic nature, and with the profits and interests of private capital guaranteed.

The national bourgeoisie, politically and economically weak, is not capable of carrying the banner of democracy and national independence. Aiming to strengthen their position with regard to the imperialists, the national bourgeoisie seeks to obtain the support of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants, and even the working class. However, this becomes increasingly difficult.

III. The proletariat must ally itself with the national bourgeoisie within the FDLN. This does not signify, however, the disappearance of the contradictions between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie within the united revolutionary front. The proletariat cannot stop fighting for its most immediate interests, and in this regard, inevitably it will clash with the national bourgeoisie.

The proletariat must defend, in any circumstance, the right to organize in an independent way in its class Party and in labor unions, and to freely carry out the propaganda of its ultimate objectives, namely, the achievement of a socialist society.

However, it is necessary to bear in mind that the contradiction between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie within the united revolutionary front has a definite limit. This contradiction cannot be resolved in the first stage of the revolution.

In spite of all the clashes that occur within the united revolutionary front, the proletariat always will strive to assure the alliance with the national bourgeoisie, with, however, the hegemonic role of the proletariat inflexibly guaranteed.

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In this sense, to assure the hegemonic role of the proletariat and also the alliance with the national bourgeoisie, a fundamental condition is the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance.

(SEE PROBLEM NO. 60, p. 56).

IV. Misunderstandings Within Our Ranks Concerning the National Bourgeoisie.

A. Some comrades believe that in the democratic-popular regime the uncontrolled development of capitalism will be stimulated, and therefore, that there will be a flourishing of capitalism. This is not exact.

The democratic-popular state will be able to control and limit the development of capitalism and, consequently, of the national bourgeoisie, because it will have sufficient economic and political strength. The democratic-popular state will have a powerful economic base in the state sector of the economy, of a socialist nature, supported on the capitalism sector of the state. At its head, the democratic-popular state will have a Communist Party that gains more and more prestige among the masses, the vanguard of a working class whose strength will constantly increase, based on the worker-peasant alliance that is strengthened continually.

B. Some comrades affirm that the democratic-popular state could deliver to the national bourgeoisie the companies confiscated from the North Americans or from the great disloyal capitalists.

The confiscated companies will belong to the state and will form part of the state economic sector of a socialist nature.

Under certain conditions, in accord with the convenience of developing the national economy, the democratic-popular state will be able to utilize this or that confiscated company to organize companies in collaboration with the national bourgeoisie.

C. Some comrades believe that in order to gain the national bourgeoisie the class struggle must be lessened.

Comrade ARRUDA states: "The error stems from two main reasons: 1) from the supposition that the forms of class struggle are reduced solely to

economic struggles, when, in truth, they include political and ideological struggles; the fact is that among these struggles, the political struggles for power are decisive; 2) from the failure to understand that the FDLN is the national bourgeoisie, that it is the union of heterogeneous forces, from the working class to the national bourgeoisie, in which the proletariat must discharge the leading role and fight for the realization, not only of the general interests, but also of its specific interests."

The proletariat must, especially, ~~assure~~ assure the development of its alliance with the peasants, inasmuch as the worker-peasant alliance is the fundamental condition for the hegemony of the proletariat in the FDLN.

D. The statement is made that it is impossible to win the national bourgeoisie, because the latter is very vacillating and pusillanimous.

The truth is, however, that the objective conditions place before the national bourgeoisie the necessity to choose between failure and being crushed by North American imperialism and the road to national independence and revolution.

There is no doubt that if we act in a just manner we will attract the national bourgeoisie to the course of revolution.

Comrade PRESTES says: "The Party program that contains progressive claims of the national bourgeoisie and demands punishment for the traitors who ally themselves with North American imperialism, and the practical activity of the Communists in the fight for the interests of the people and of the nation, create the conditions that will facilitate the passage of the national bourgeoisie to the democratic side of the ~~movement~~ movement ~~■~~ for national liberation."

E. Other comrades believe that it is not worth while to waste time on an ally, so vacillating, pusillanimous, and unimportant as the national bourgeoisie.

These comrades place themselves in an idealist, petty bourgeois ⁰¹⁵ ~~position~~ position.

As revolutionaries, however, we cannot, and we must not, despise the slightest possibility of gaining an ally, however, vacillating, temporary, and unsteady he may be.

On the other hand, we must not underestimate the national bourgeoisie, which still has influence in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, among the peasant masses, and even in the working class. Precisely, in order to liberate this part of the masses from the influence of national bourgeois reformism, we must ally ourselves with the national bourgeoisie.

V. The democratic-popular regime will have a non-capitalist development and will be a regime of transition for capitalism. The democratic-popular regime will have a multiform and complex economy.

It will have the following sectors or economic formations.

1. A State Sector of a Socialist Nature.
2. A Cooperative Sector of a Socialist Nature.
3. State Capitalism.
4. Private Capitalism.
5. Small Business Economy.
6. A Communal-Patriarchal Sector.

In the democratic-popular regime, the leading role will be played by the socialist sector, which will consist of companies belonging to the state; the present state companies and those confiscated from the North American imperialists and from the great disloyal capitalists.

As the democratic-popular state will be directed by the working class, its enterprises will not have capitalist production relations, which will no longer be of value, for the entire production will be destined for the welfare of the workers and for the development of the national economy. Supported on the state capitalist sector, the socialist sector of the economy will promote the intensive industrialization of the country, it will build a powerful heavy industry, and with the aid of the USSR and of the People's Democracies, it will channel the entire development of the national economy toward launching the foundations for constructing socialism.

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In his report to the Fourth Congress, comrade PRESTES affirms: "In the democratic-popular regime, the sector of petty bourgeois commercial production and the sector of private capitalism may come to constitute an important part of the national economy, inasmuch as the revolution will not touch the roots of capitalism, and the revolution will operate with the confiscation and distribution of land to the peasants. The state sector of production, of a socialist nature, will give a great impulse to production in rural areas; aided by the state capitalism sector, it will be sufficiently powerful to guarantee the development of the country in accordance with the interests and the aspirations of the great popular masses. With similar economic bases, the democratic-popular regime will be able to attract national and foreign private capital to effect a more rapid development of the national economy and to accelerate the preparation of the conditions for intensive industrialization in the nation."

The cooperative sector of a socialist nature will be comprised of collective peasant farms, of cooperatives of workmen of various types, whose formation the democratic-popular state will stimulate from the beginning.

The state capitalist sector will include the most varied forms of cooperation between the democratic-popular state and the private capitalists.

These Forms Will Be of the Following Types:

A. Concessions made by the state to the private capitalists for the development of public services or of certain resources of the nation, with terms being fixed regarding quality and price of the product, period of the concession, and reversion of the company to the state corporation.

B. Joint State-Private Enterprises: (Profits divided).

C. The leasing of state companies to capitalists, under conditions similar to concessions.

D. Contracts of the most varied types for the purchase and sale of products, for the furnishing of work tools, raw materials, or credit.

State capitalism will facilitate for the democratic-popular state the task of developing the productive forces, of carrying out industrialization on a

large scale, and, at the same time, of controlling and developing capitalism, and guiding it toward the transition to socialism.

The private capitalist sector will be comprised of companies and capital belonging to the national bourgeoisie and to the petty bourgeoisie, and of the developments of the rich [redacted] farmers.

The sector on the small commercial economy will be comprised of the small rural developments.

The communal-patriarchal sector will embrace the economy of the natives, among whom the primitive commercial regime still survives under various forms and different degrees of decomposition.

The economic and political factors that determine the non-capitalist development of the democratic-popular regimes are the following:

1. The political strengthening of the working class and of its Communist Party.
2. The existence and strengthening of the democratic-popular state based on the worker-peasant alliance.
3. The strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance.
4. The [redacted] development of the socialist sector in the national economy.
5. The development of the cooperative economy in the city and in rural areas.
6. The support of the socialist camp, especially of the USSR, which will be of a decisive nature for the entire evolution of the democratic-popular regime.

VI. Conclusions:

The August manifesto took a sectarian position concerning the problem of the national bourgeoisie.

The August manifesto did not consider the possibility of winning the national bourgeoisie to the revolutionary camp and, clamoring for a transformation

of a socialist nature, practically placed the national bourgeoisie in the camp of the enemy.

The Party Program corrects this error, taking a just position regarding the national bourgeoisie.

In this manner, bearing in mind the democratic nature of the first stage of the revolution, we enlarge our battle front and narrow the field of the enemy.

Bibliography

Program -- Chapter III -- points 26 to 31

Report of PRESTES

Prob. 54 -- to the Fourth Congress -- Prob. 64, Chapter I, subtitle
"The relations with the B.N., ^[national bourgeoisie] the political regime, and the government
for which we fight" - p. 61-65.

Report of ARRUDA

Fourth Congress -- Third new element Chapter III - p. 127.

Regarding State Capital in China

The state capital had special significance in the economy during the period of transition.

The most important and superior form is that of joint enterprises of state and private capital. The state capital is represented principally through joint enterprises in which state and private capital participate, functioning under the control of the state.

One-fourth of the profits from these companies goes to the capitalists and the remainder, principally in the form of rent tax is assigned to the state and is used in improving the living standards of the workers and in expanding plant equipment.

The capital or companies will be confiscated only from the great capitalists who betray the national interests and who ally themselves with the North American imperialists.

This is the third new and essential element that determines the fundamental content of the Program.

This concerns a position that results from the correct understanding of the first stage of the revolution, which is anti-imperial and anti-feudal; radical democratic transformations must be effected.

The law of the compulsory correspondence between the production relations and the nature of the productive forces demands the diminution of the capitalist production relations.

The revolution can only give a solution to the matured needs. We would be idealists if we proposed to resolve tasks which history still has not placed in the order of the day for Brazil.

The Brazilian bourgeoisie is subjected to a process of differentiation, which divides it into two distinct groups.

One of these groups, says PRESTES: "is formed by the great capitalists who are closely linked with the landowners and who serve directly the interests of one or another group of foreign monopolists, particularly the North American ones."

This group, although powerful, constitutes an insignificant minority numerically speaking.

The second group, PRESTES teaches, is comprised of ^{the} remainder of the Brazilian bourgeoisie, rightly designated by the program as national bourgeoisie, and which principally reflects the interests of the national industry.

The national bourgeoisie contends with the imperialist monopolies for a greater part in the development of the natural riches of Brazil through the cheap labor in the country. The national bourgeoisie needs an expansion of the domestic market, protection of the State for the attainment of foreign markets, and facility in acquiring equipment and raw materials.

We seek to attract the national bourgeoisie to the revolutionary camp, ^{to} the FDLN.

We consider this possible because it is in accord with the very nature of the revolution.

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Subjects of the Program:

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Our Fight for a Popular Democratic State and a Democratic Government
of National Liberation

Summary

1. Introduction.
2. The roles of the state and of the government in the various political-social regimes.
3. The despotic State of great landowners and capitalists reigning in Brazil.
4. The present government, representative of great landowners and capitalists.
5. The attainment of a popular democratic regime, the fundamental objective of the revolution.
6. The attainment of a democratic government of national liberation, our fundamental and immediate objective.
7. Conclusions.

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"The Program does not take up the struggle for the establishment of any state or government; it calls for the attainment of a democratic-popular state and of a democratic government of national liberation. This means that we are fighting for a democratic-popular government and for a government of ample democratic coalition, formed by all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces.

"They are the two orders determined by the democratic transformations necessary to the economic, social, political, and cultural progress of Brazil, and necessary for the most longed-for aspirations of the great majority of our people."--ARRUDA.

STALIN teaches us:

"The fundamental question of every revolution is the question of power."

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If the revolutionary forces do not determine the question of power, then they are not aiming toward causing a revolution.

The class struggle revolves around the control of state power. This is a decisive struggle. Thus, the revolution can only attain its final victory with the passage of State power from the old ruling class, now decrepit, to the new ruling class which has a progressive mission to fulfill.

The Program of our Party places before the working class and all the people the fundamental objective of overthrowing the present state power and building a new state power, of replacing the present regime of great landowners and capitalists with a democratic-popular regime. The Program affirms:

"The cause of this policy of national treason lies in the regime of great landowners and capitalists, whose interests are represented by the present government. As long as this regime lasts, the policy of the Brazilian rulers always will be determined by the great landowners and capitalists, who are in the service of North American imperialism."

It is necessary for the revolution to destroy the regime of great landowners and capitalists, and to replace it with a democratic-popular regime.

II

An economic-social formation is an historically defined method of production which embodies unity between productive forces and production relations, together with the corresponding superstructure and institutions.

The political regime forms part of the superstructure and it is a broader concept than that of the State, for it embraces other elements besides the State, including political parties, the electoral body, and various institutions such as newspapers, cultural associations, professional groups, etc., which participate in the political activity.

The political-social regime of a people has in the State its most concentrated and clear expression, its official expression.

LENIN says:

"The state was always a separate apparatus within society, formed by a group of persons concerned solely, or principally, with government."

LENIN also says:

"When there appears this special group of men who are not concerned with anything except ~~governing~~ governing, and when, in order to do this, they need a special apparatus of coercion, of subduing another's will through violence—jails, special detachments, armies, etc.—that is when the State appears."

In the Communist manifesto, MARX and ENGELS affirm:

"Political power, properly speaking, is the organized violence of one class for the oppression of another."

"History demonstrates," says LENIN, "that the State, as a special apparatus of coercion of men, emerged only at the time and place in which there appeared the division of society into classes, that is, the division into groups of men, of which some could always take possession of the work of others, where one exploited the other."

The essence of the State is always a class dictatorship. This essence of the State does not depend on its form. The State of one definite class can assume various forms, but this fact does not change its essence, which always continues to be a dictatorship of that class. The bourgeoisie State may have a monarchical, republican-democratic, or Fascist form, but the essence of the bourgeoisie State is always the same: Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In the same way, the socialist State may have a soviet or democratic-popular form, but its essence is always the same—Dictatorship of the working class. A State is replaced by another by means of revolution when the dictatorship of the decadent class is replaced in a revolutionary manner by another class dictatorship, that is, by the dictatorship of the rising class. The revolutionary class does not merely take possession of the old State power, but destroys it and on its ruins builds the new State power. The new class which rises to power needs new laws, new authorities, new tribunals, new armies, etc.

We must not, then, confuse a change in the form of the State with a transformation in the essence of the State. The transformation in the essence of the State can only take place through revolution, through the replacement of one class dictatorship by another class dictatorship.

The Marxist theory of the State is entirely contrary to the bourgeois theories concerning the State.

The bourgeoisie usually defines the State as "the politically organized nation." This definition, besides not defining anything, is false because it conceals the class nature of the State.■

The bourgeoisie says, also, that the State is, or should be, above classes. The State must, therefore, represent everyone, do justice to all, etc. The truth is that an impartial State, with regard to classes, is impossible. The concept of the class dictatorship is implicit in the concept of the State. The State represents one class, the dominant class in the society.

Another thesis that is very much defended by the bourgeoisie is that of the independence of powers within the State. This never was carried into practice. Formally, there are three powers, but they do not have independence, once the Executive subdues the other powers.

The bourgeoisie says, also, that the State is bad when the men are bad and corrupt. The truth is that the men were changed but the Brazilian State remains the same, further accentuating its despotic nature.

Another thesis that is very much defended is that the State is good or bad, depending on the laws or the lack of them. This was an argument commonly used by GETULIO VARGAS.

The truth is, however, that the laws never go beyond the existing political-social framework, and the State does not hesitate to violate its own laws when this action may be useful to the dominant classes.

Certain theories usually say that the State has a divine origin.

The State, according to them, is an ineluctable necessity, created by "divine providence", for, without the State, men would devour each other.

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This theory held sway in the middle ages in order to justify the feudal State.

ROUSSEAU affirms that the State does not have a divine origin, but rather a "natural" one. According to him, the State result^{ed} from a "social contract", wherein each man renounced a part of his liberty.

The State resulted, therefore, from a voluntary act. This was not what occurred, in reality.

The anarchists recognize violence in the State, but they do not recognize the class nature of the State. They try to abolish the State because it represents violence. In this way, the anarchists are opposed to the bourgeois State and also to the proletarian State.

We, Communists, are opposed to the bourgeois State, but we are not opposed to the proletarian State, which is essential so that the proletariat may maintain itself in power and construct a classless society.

The gradual disappearance of the State will take place only when Communism dominates the majority of the nations of the world.

The government is a part of the State, its superior directing part.

The government has the same class nature as the State, but it is not confused with the State, in the same way that the part is not confused with the whole. The State and the government are interconnected organically and depend on one another, but this does not mean that they are identical. The government must select the ways and means to apply its daily policy, in the service of the class interests which are expressed in the State and, consequently, in the government itself.

While the State has a permanent nature, as long as there remains the class dictatorship which is its essence, the government and its policy can change, naturally, to a much greater degree. The governments vary in accordance with the correlation of forces of existing classes, in accordance with the immediate tasks which the dominant class faces at each moment, and in accordance also with the actions and inactions that result from the policy carried out by the governments.

III

In colonial times, Brazil did not have its own State; the incipient Brazilian nation was subordinated to the Portuguese State. The Brazilian State emerged after independence and acquired the imperial form with D. PEDRO I and D. PEDRO II. At that time, the Brazilian^{State} was a dictatorship of slave owners on an imperial base. This State was strongly centralized in order to guarantee the pro-slavery regime, against the slaves who rose up several times and against the revolutionary elements of the cities. When the pro-slavery regime ended, the Monarchy also ended. The Republic represented a step forward in our political revolution, having permitted a greater participation of the masses in political activities, but the great territorial property still remained. The slave owners were followed by the semi-slave and semi-feudal lords. Although the Republic, in its first Constitution, recorded some liberties, it was a dictatorship of the great landowners and capitalists. (Great merchants, bankers, and, later, great industrialists, generally having a landowner origin.) Almost all the presidents of the Republic were from Sao Paulo and from Minas, where the landowner groups were, who were ~~the~~ economically and politically the most powerful in the country. After 1930, the Brazilian State passed under the control of groups that were closely linked with North American imperialism. In 1937, although the essence of the State remained the same, the State changed its form and became a Fascist-type State. This Fascist form was liquidated in 1945. The period 1945-47 saw the greatest liberty in the history of Brazil, and even so, much violence was recorded. The present Constitution (in Brazil, we now have had several constitutions: 1891, 1934, 1937, and 1946) registers a series of liberties because it was drawn up in a period of democratic ascendancy. All of these liberties, however, are constantly violated in actual practice.

One characteristic that the Brazilian State has assumed since ~~the~~ World War II is that of its infiltration by agents of North American imperialism. Until World War II, the Brazilian State had national characteristics, which it is losing today.

Today North American "advisory" and "technical" commissions occupy key positions in the very apparatus of the Brazilian State, including the Armed Forces. This is an indication of the advanced stage of colonization of our country by North American imperialism.

IV

The Brazilian Government is a government of great landowners and capitalists. This government carries out a policy that benefits the great landowners and capitalists, who are linked with North American imperialism.

This government may adopt new courses, but its class essence does not vary.

The Program affirms:

"The government of great landowners and capitalists is, therefore, a government of preparation for war and of national treason, an enemy of the people. It is a useful and necessary instrument of the North American imperialists, one that facilitates the complete colonization of Brazil by the US.

V

Comrade PRESTES affirms:

"By its class essence, the democratic-popular regime will be a dictatorship of the revolutionary, anti-feudal, and anti-imperialist forces; it will actually be a power of the people, of the overwhelming majority of the nation--workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie--under the direction of the working class and of its Communist Party."

Therefore, after the carrying out in Brazil of the democratic-popular revolution, of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal agrarian character, we will have the democratic-popular regime, whose synthesis will be the democratic-popular State.

The new State will be democratic-popular, because, fundamentally, it will carry out the policy of the working class and of the peasants, the policy of the broad popular masses. That which defines the democratic-popular character of the new State is that the forces of the people in it will impress the mark of their interests.

The new democratic-popular regime will be a democracy for the people and a dictatorship for the minority of great landowners and capitalists.

The Party Program, in its Third Chapter, gives us the general lines of the democratic-popular regime, especially concerning the structure of the democratic-popular State:

- Sovereignty of the people

The supreme power of the State is exercised by the National Congress, comprised of the elected representatives of the people. The supreme power will reside in a President, as in the present regime.

- Abolition of the Senate

The Senate is a restricted Chamber, in which the senators are elected by majority vote. The Senate, therefore, is a reactionary filter designed to prevent the approval of any measure, perchance democratic, passed by the Chamber. In the popular democracy there will be no Senate.

- The electors will have the right to annul, at any time, the mandate of the representatives.

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The President of the Republic will be elected by the people and he will govern through a Council of Ministers responsible to the National Congress.

Universal suffrage.

Proportional representation of political parties.

Political and administrative autonomy of the States, Municipalities, Federal Territories, and the Federal District.

The autonomy granted to the States is a peculiarity of the Brazilian situation, stemming from our historical tradition.

Inviolability of the human person and of the home.

Broad democratic liberties, which are materially assured by the State itself.

Abolition of racial discrimination, and permission of instruction in the mother tongue to the children of immigrants.

Separation of the State from Religious Institutions -- The Constitution of 1891 separated the State from the Church, but the Constitution of 1946 turned backward and gave validity to the religious marriage, etc. The Catholic Church continues to have an official character.

In the popular democracy, the State will not give privileges to any religion, but it will permit complete freedom of belief and worship.

Democratization of the Armed Forces and creation of the National Popular Armed Forces.

Suppression of the police organizations of repression. In their place will be the Popular Militia, which will be the people armed.

Rapid and gratuitous justice -- In the popular democracy, Justice will be accessible to all. The Laws will be changed; Court Judges will be elected by the people for definite terms.

Reform in the Tax System -- The principal Tax under the new regime will be the ^{severely} ~~progressive~~ progressive tax on income.

VI

Comrade ARRUDA says:

"The liberation of Brazil from the yoke of North American imperialism, the realization of the policy of peace, the carrying out of the radical democratic transformations--these are the basic tasks of the future democratic government of national liberation as the legitimate representative of the great progressive, democratic, and popular forces of Brazil."

The Party Program states:

"The PCB is convinced that the democratic transformations that our people need and covet can only be attained with a democratic government of national liberation, a coalition government in which there participate, besides the working class, the peasants, the intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie."

The class content of the new government will be the same as that of the new State. The democratic government of national liberation is so called because of the tasks that it will have to face as synthesized in the ^[Points] 46 of the Program, and which can be summed up as follows:

- a) Liberation of Brazil from the yoke of North American imperialism.
- b) Policy of Peace.
- c) Radical democratic transformations, fundamentally agrarian reform, the democratization of political activity, and the broadening of the rights of the working class.

In the democratic popular regime, as improvements are made in the economic-social sector, the working class will gradually increase the political strength of the Communist Party, and the worker-peasant alliance will be strengthened. Thus, in accordance with the modification of the correlation of class strengths, the composition of the government will change, always in a favorable sense for the working class, while the specific weight of the bourgeoisie will diminish more and more.

VII

With the fourth new and essential element of the Program, studied herewith, we note the new elements that determine the fundamental content of the Program of our Party. Only by subordinating ourselves to those elements, without striving to advance to tasks which History still has not made the order of the day, can the Program transform itself into a Program for all the people.

By assimilating these contents well, we will be able to fight with success to group all the progressive and popular forces of Brazil, against the reactionary internal forces and against domination by the North American imperialists, for the attainment of the democratic government of national liberation.

With the victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal agrarian revolution, the Communist Party will do everything to subsequently carry out the objectives and the tasks of the revolution, indicated clearly in the Program of national

salvation approved by the Fourth Congress of our Party.

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QUESTIONS

1. What is the fundamental objective placed before the working class in its struggle?
2. What is an economic-social formation?
3. What is a political regime?
4. What is the State? How did the State appear?
5. What is the essence of the State?
6. What are the bourgeois concepts concerning the State?
7. How do the anarchists face the problem of the State?
8. Will the State exist always? Why?
9. What is the government?
10. What characteristics did the Brazilian State have in colonial and Republican times?
11. What is the essence of the present State?
12. What defines the nature of the new popular democratic state?
13. What will its structure be?
14. What are the basic tasks of the new democratic government of national liberation?

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Our Fight for a Popular Democratic State and a Democratic Government
of National Liberation

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- I. Introduction.
- II. The roles of the state and of the government in the various political-social regimes.
- III. The despotic State of great landowners and capitalists reigning in Brazil.
- IV. The Cafe Filho government, a government of great landowners and capitalists in the service of North American imperialism.
- V. The attainment of a popular democratic regime, the fundamental objective of the revolution.
- VI. The attainment of a democratic government of national liberation, our fundamental and immediate objective.
- VII. Conclusions.

I. Comrade Arruda states in his report to the Fourth Congress of the Party: "The Program does not take up the struggle for the establishment of any state or government; it calls for the attainment of a democratic-popular state and of a democratic government of national liberation. This means that we are fighting for a democratic-popular republic and for a government of ample democratic coalition, formed by all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces.

"They are the two orders determined by the democratic transformations necessary to the economic, social, political, and cultural progress of Brazil, and necessary for the most longed-for aspirations of the great majority of our people."

Thus, we have the fourth new and essential element that determines the fundamental content of our Party Program.

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What importance has the third new element of the Program?

STALIN teaches us: "The fundamental question of every revolution is the question of power." If the revolutionary forces do not clearly determine the question of power, then they are not aiming toward causing a revolution. The Program of our Party places before the working class and all the people the fundamental objective of overthrowing the present power and building a new state power, of replacing the present regime of great landowners and capitalists with a democratic-popular regime. The program describes the whole policy of national treason that is carried on in Brazil, and at the same time it indicates the cause of that policy. What is that cause?

The Program affirms: "The cause of this policy of national treason lies in the regime of great landowners and capitalists, whose interests are represented by the present government. As long as this regime lasts, the policy of the Brazilian rulers always will be determined by the great landowners and capitalists, who are in the service of North American imperialism."

It is necessary for the revolution to destroy the regime of great landowners and capitalists, and to replace it with a democratic-popular regime. In addition to this fundamental objective, the Program also presents as an immediate objective the overthrow of the present government. Comrade Prestes states in his report to the Fourth Congress: "The victory of the revolution and the replacement of the present regime of great landowners and capitalists by the popular democratic regime demands the overthrow and the revolutionary replacement of the government of great landowners and capitalists, which is now in the hands of the Fascist generals, with Cafe Filho at the forefront."

II. An economic-social formation is an historically defined method of production which embodies unity between productive forces and production relations, together with the corresponding superstructure, or definite substructure.

The political regime forms part of the superstructure and it is a broader concept than that of the State, for it embraces other elements besides the State, including political parties, the electoral body, and various institutions such as newspapers, cultural associations, professional groups, etc., which participate in the political activity. What is the State? The political-social regime of a people has in the State its most concentrated and clear expression, its official expression. The State is the official representation of the entire society, its synthesis in a visible social body.

Lenin teaches us: "History demonstrates that the State, as a special apparatus of coercion of men, emerged only at the time and place in which there appeared the division of society into classes, that is, the division into groups of men, of which some could always take possession of the work of others, where one exploited the other." What then, is the essence of the State? The essence of the State is always a class dictatorship. This essence of the State does not depend on its form. The State of one definite class can assume, and does assume, various forms, but this fact does not change its essence, which always continues to be a dictatorship of that class.

When is one State replaced by another? A State is replaced by another by means of revolution; when the dictatorship of the decadent class is replaced in a revolutionary manner by another class dictatorship, that is, by the dictatorship of the rising class. The revolutionary class does not merely take possession of the old State power, but destroys it and on its ruins builds the new State power. The new class which rises to power needs new laws, new authorities, new tribunals, new armies, etc.

We must not, then, confuse a change in the form of the State with a transformation in the essence of the State. The transformation in the essence of the State, and therefore of the state itself, can only take place through revolution, through the replacement of one class dictatorship by another class dictatorship.

The bourgeoisie says that the State is the politically organized nation. In other words, this may say that the State is the nation organized as a state. Now this defines nothing. But with this, they hope to confuse and hide the class nature of the State.

The bourgeoisie says that the State is, or should be, above classes. It is not by chance that they present justice symbolized by a woman who is blindfolded. With this, they wish to say that the State regulates the relations between classes. We see that this is completely false.

They proclaim the thesis of the independence of the powers of the State. This thesis was originated by Montesquieu, ideologist of the French bourgeoisie in their fight against the French nobility. This is formally consubstantiated in bourgeois constitutions such as ours. But this is just formality. We see, for example, that judges are named by the Executive, then... Another thesis is that when the men are bad the government is bad; with good, honest men, the government will be better, the State will be better. In Brazil, we see that one government (some men) always reveal the methods of others, and the thing continues.

^{is} It said that the State is good, depending upon the laws. But we see that when the laws do not interest the ruling classes, when the laws are prejudicial to them, they are violated. Our constitution is an example of this.

They present the State as the divine inspiration of God, which therefore cannot be changed, abolished, etc. This concept prevailed during the middle ages. When the bourgeoisie began to fight against feudalism, Jean Jaques ROUSSEAU elaborated the theory of "social contract;" that is, the State resulting from a social contract among men. According to this theory, the State stops having a divine origin and starts having a natural origin. But this removes from the State its class characteristic, its class origin.

The anarchists recognize one part of the State, that ~~it~~^{it} is a violence of classes. But they are not concerned with learning what class performs

the violence. They wish to abolish the State with one stroke of the pen. However, we know that in order to abolish the State, we must first abolish the social base of its existence: class antagonism. The gradual disappearance of the State will take place only when Communism triumphs in the majority of the nations.

The government is a part of the State, its superior directing part. The government has the same class nature as the State, but it is not confused with the State, in the same way that the part is not confused with the whole. The State and the government are interconnected organically and depend on one another, but this does not mean that they are identical. The government must select the ways and means at any given moment; it must apply its daily policy, in the service of the class interests which are expressed in the State and, consequently, in the government itself. While the State has a permanent nature, as long as there remains the class dictatorship which is its essence, the government and its policy can change, naturally, to a much greater degree. The governments vary in accordance with the correlation of forces of existing classes, in accordance with the immediate tasks which the dominant class faces at each moment, and in accordance also with the actions and in actions that result from the policy carried out by the governments. (See 26 Problems -- article by Stalin -- pp 7 and 8)

A change in governments, within the framework of one State, does not alter the framework of that state, nor does it alter its class essence.

III. In colonial times, Brazil did not have its own State; the incipient Brazilian nation was subordinated to the Portuguese State. The Brazilian State emerged after independence and acquired the imperial form; ^{at} that time, the Brazilian State was a dictatorship of slave owners on an imperial base. This State was strongly centralized in order to guarantee the pro-slavery regime, against the slaves who rose up several times and against the revolutionary elements of the cities.

When the pro-slavery regime ended, the monarchy also ended. The Republic represented a step forward in our political revolution, having

permitted a greater participation of the masses in political activities, but the great territorial property still remained. The slave owners were followed by the semi-slave and semi-feudal lords.

Although the Republic, in its first Constitution, recorded some liberties, it was a dictatorship of the great landowners and capitalists. (Great merchants, bankers, and later, great industrialists, generally having a landowner origin).

After 1930, the Brazilian State passed under the control of groups that were closely linked with North American imperialism. The great capitalists, in their turn, started having a more important role. The situation in Brazil became more unstable.

In 1937, although the essence of the State remained the same, the State changed its form and became a Fascist-type State. This Fascist form was liquidated in 1945.

The period 1945-47 saw the greatest liberty in the history of Brazil. And even so, how much violence was recorded? One characteristic common to all states in Brazil, from the Empire to the Republic, is their tyrannical despotism. In other countries, at certain times, the State could permit some liberties for the masses. In Brazil, the State always used means ranging from legal violence to illegal caprice; it was always a completely despotic State. This shows the weakness of these ruling classes, these classes which are at the head of a regime so decrepit that they are obliged to resort to greater violence, to more brutal tyranny, and now to open national treason in order to maintain their privileges as exploiters.

Item 2 of chapter II of the Party Program analyzes the regime now reigning in Brazil. The present constitution registers a series of liberties because it was drawn up in a period of democratic ascendancy. All of these liberties, however, are constantly violated in actual practice. If there are some democratic liberties in Brazil, it is because of the

popular and great resistance. The tyrannical Brazilian State, because of pressure from the masses, is compelled to make certain concessions.

One characteristic that the Brazilian State has assumed since World War II is that of its infiltration by agents of North American imperialism. Until World War II, the Brazilian State had national characteristics, which it is losing today.

IV

The Brazilian Government is a government of great landowners and capitalists. This government carries out a policy that benefits the great landowners and capitalists, who are linked with North American imperialism. This government may adopt new courses, but its class essence does not vary.

The Party Program affirms: "To draw Brazil into war, to sell it to the North American imperialists, in order to retain large landed estates and feudal and slavery ^{ages} ~~vestiges~~ in agriculture -- this is the objective of the policy of the government of great landowners and capitalists."

Concerning the present government (Nereu), comrade Prestes says: "The events apparently did not determine changes in the political regime; we continued living under the same regime of great landowners and capitalists defined by the Party Program; the great landed estates continued, and the Brazilian economy remained dependent upon the North American monopolies. But, with the defeat of the plotters, there emerged in the country a government with several new characteristics which we must be able to appraise and evaluate from the viewpoint of the working class. It is a government that is different from the governments of Cafe Filho and Carlos Luz; it reflects the existing differences among the ruling classes, and it represents the interests of those sectors of the ruling classes in opposition to the reactionary clique that took power on 24 August 1954. The government of Nereu Ramos undoubtedly represents political forces that prefer, instead of a terrorist dictatorship in the service of North American monopolies against the people and the Constitution, the safeguarding of the present

- 7 -

constitutional regime and respect for the will of the majority of the nation, manifested at the ballot boxes on 3 October.

"But it is also certain that the government of Nereu Ramos, both because of its composition and because of the domestic and foreign policies that it is pursuing, does not represent the correlation of political forces existing in the nation today, does not express the interests of the great currents of opinion prevailing in the anti-coup d'etat coalition that was victorious at the ballot boxes on 3 October and that motivated the unity of action that isolated and defeated the coup d'etat clique."

The manifesto of the CC of January 1956 states: "The government of Nereu Ramos that emerged from the crisis of 11 November has not corresponded to popular desires; it is a government that represents the political forces of the dominant classes in opposition to the coup d'etat clique, and that strives to seat those elected on 3 October. But it is a government that grows weaker each day before the reactionary forces and the agents of North American imperialism, who are leading the nation to new and greater dangers."

V. Comrade Prestes states in his report to the Fourth Congress: "At the present time, we have the objective of destroying the regime of exploitation and oppression, which is in the service of North American imperialism, and its replacement by a new regime - the democratic - popular regime."

And he adds: "By its class essence, the democratic-popular regime will be a dictatorship of the revolutionary, anti-feudal, and anti-imperialist forces; it will actually be a power of the people, of the overwhelming majority of the nation -- workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie -- under the direction of the working class and of its Communist Party. The hegemony of the proletariat is indispensable to the victory of the revolution and to the establishment of a new regime, whose strength will rest, fundamentally in the worker-peasant alliance. Built on the ruins of the old regime, the democratic-popular regime will serve as an instrument of the workers in their fight against the exploiting elements, against all

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the attempts to restore in Brazil the domination of the great landowners and capitalists, and the domination of the imperialist monopolies."

After the carrying out in Brazil of the democratic-popular revolution, of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal agrarian character, we will have the democratic-popular political regime, whose synthesis will be the democratic-popular State. The form of that state will be a democratic-popular republic. The new State will be democratic-popular, because, fundamentally, it will carry out the policy of the working class and of the peasants, the policy of the broad popular masses.

That which defines the democratic-popular character of the new State is that the forces of the people in it will impress the mark of their interests, contrary to what occurred in the States arising from the bourgeois revolutions, the bourgeois state which defended the bourgeoisie and oppressed the broad popular masses of the people.

The Party Program, in its Third Chapter, gives us the general lines of the democratic-popular regime, especially concerning the Structure of the democratic-popular States. (See points 7 to 25)

VI. Comrade Prestes says: "The Party Program rightfully envisions the replacement of the government of great landowners and capitalists by the democratic government of national liberation."

Comrade Arruda says: "The liberation of Brazil from the yoke of North American imperialism, the realization of the policy of peace, the carrying out of the radical democratic transformations -- these are the basic tasks of the future democratic government of national liberation as the legitimate representative of the great progressive, democratic, and popular forces of Brazil."

Replacing the present government is our fundamental and immediate objective because the new government will build the new democratic-popular regime. The democratic government of national liberation will organize, supported by the initiative of the masses, the new Democratic-Popular State and will be its superior directing part.

The Party Program states: "The PCB is convinced that the democratic transformations that our people need and covet can only be attained with a democratic government of national liberation, a coalition government in which there participate, besides the working class, the peasant, the intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie."

The class content of the new government will be the same as that of the new State. Why do we call this new government the democratic government of national liberation? Because of the tasks that it will have to face, which are stated in the 46 points of the Program. In the democratic popular regime, as improvements are made in the economic-social sector, the working class will gradually ²increase the political strength of the Communist Party.

The worker-peasant alliance will be strengthened; the task of intensive industrialization will be given its rightful place; the collectivization of agriculture will be initiated, and thus we will have other governments to effect these new tasks and prepare the transition to the socialist stages of the revolution. Thus, in accordance with the modification of the correlation of class strengths, and with the emergence of new tasks in the democratic-popular regime, the composition of the government will change, always in a favorable sense for the working class, while the specific weight of the bourgeoisie will diminish more and more.

VII. Comrade Arruda states in his report to the Fourth Congress: "The historical conditions of Brazil prescribe a Democratic-Popular Republic and a Democratic Government of National Liberation. But the establishment of such a State and of such a government is impossible without a broad FDLN, and without a revolutionary struggle that is hard, prolonged, persistent and audacious."

With the fourth new and essential element of the Program, studied herewith, we note the new elements that determine the fundamental content of the Party Program. Only by subordinating ourselves to those elements,

without striving to advance to tasks which History still has not made the order of the day, can the Party Program transform itself into a Program for all the people, and for the democratic, progressive, national, and liberating sectors.

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Next 5 Page(s) In Document Denied

Our tasks in order to carry the Party Program to victory.

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- I. Introduction.
- II. To attain complete Party support for the program.
- III. To transform the Party program into a program for all the people.
- IV. Our immediate tasks for the application of the program.
- V. Conclusion.

I. When the program was revealed for discussion by the Party, by the working class and the people, and by all the democratic and progressive forces of Brazil, the Central Committee set, for all the Party, two immediate and fundamental tasks. These tasks are:

- 1. To attain complete Party support for the program.
- 2. To transform the Party program into a program for the people and for all the democratic and progressive forces.

II. The participation of the Communists in the discussion of the Program was great and enthusiastic, both in Party organizations and in newspapers of the popular press.

In spite of the great success revealed by the discussion of the program, a discussion that involved the majority of Party members, still little advance was made in the execution of the task of assimilation of the Party Program, inasmuch as only the first steps had been taken in the establishment of new methods of work in the Party and of new Party endeavors with the masses, exigencies which the program made known to the Party.

The insufficiencies which were revealed in the discussion of the Program resulted, on the one hand, from the political weakness of many of our primary organizations and, on the other hand, from the failure of the directorates to give direct and efficacious aid so that the militants might actually assimilate the Party Program. During the discussion of the Program there also emerged various

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tendencies and manifestations contrary to the Program, tendencies that demand the greatest vigilance by all the Party.

Let us look at the most important of these tendencies and manifestations:

1) Manifestations of the left, especially with regard to the national bourgeoisie and imperialism. Some militants believe that the national bourgeoisie is the enemy of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal agrarian revolution. Others believe that it is not right to concentrate the fire only against North American imperialism, and that we must fight against imperialism in general at the same time.

2) Manifestations of the right, also with regard to the national bourgeoisie and imperialism. Some members of the Party believe that the stirring up of the class struggle prevents the conquering of the national bourgeoisie for the FDLN. Others believe that the rest of the imperialists are allied and are no longer enemies of the Brazilian revolution.

3) Influence of bourgeois nationalism. This influence was manifested in many militants and intermediate cadre of the Party who opposed the inclusion, in the program, of the right of foreigners to vote and to be elected, and freedom of instruction in the mother tongue to the children of immigrants. This position is contrary to the interests of the revolution and to proletarian internationalism.

4) Capitulation tendencies. Some members of the Party raise doubts concerning the possibility and the feasibility of the victory of the program, thereby revealing a lack of confidence in Party strength and in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces. Others ask whether conditions exist to confront the North American imperialists, thereby revealing weak nerves. Both of these manifestations of skepticism lead to passivity and cause those militants who make them to affirm that ^{it} is false for the Program to present the task of overthrowing the government of great landowners and capitalists in the service of North American imperialism.

In order to eliminate the deficiencies observed in the discussion of the program and to defeat the manifestations contrary to the Program, what must the Party do?

1. Elevate the level of the debates concerning the Program;
2. Begin an impassioned and unyielding struggle in defense of the Program and for its effective application, not allowing tendencies and manifestations that are contrary to the program to have any place in the ranks of the Party.
3. Carry out a discussion of the Program in a concrete and vivid manner, linking it to local problems, to the demands of the masses, and to the better application of the program.

III

In what measure did we struggle to disseminate and popularize the Program of the workers and peasants, and to obtain unity with the various levels of the petty bourgeoisie and with the national bourgeoisie? What did we do for the formation of the FDLN and for the initiation of revolutionary actions of the masses and for unmasking, isolating, and overthrowing the government?

With regard to this, there have been advances. The launching of the Program marked an increase in the work of agitation and propaganda of the Party. Through newspapers of the popular press, and through the press that is not under our influence; by means of pamphlets, circulars, conferences, discussions, assemblies, etc., the Program was amply disseminated and discussed.

The launching of the program heightened the class struggle throughout the land; the struggles were expanded and intensified, and the influence of the Party increased, not only among the working class, but also among our allies. The strike movement spread everywhere. Also, successes were attained in explaining the struggles and in organizing the peasants. The camp of the democrats and patriots also expanded. From the successful realization of the Convention for National Emancipation, there emerged the LEN [Liga de Emancipacao Nacional, League of National Emancipation].

A new and higher level reached by the democratic and national movement in Brazil was revealed, especially in the great popular movements that followed the ousting of the Vargas government. Victory in the recent elections and the events of November, including the defeat of the clique which sought a ~~camp~~ d'etat, represent great triumphs for our people. These are some of the successes achieved with the Party Program - a very small achievement in view of our existing possibilities and needs.

Serious weaknesses were revealed in the agitational and propaganda work concerning the Party Program. The effort is small; there is no agitational and propaganda work concerning the Program that is designed especially for each anti-imperialistic and anti-feudal force. The dissemination and popularization of the Program does not adhere ^{strictly} ~~to~~ to a planned and continuous endeavor, factory by factory, farm by farm, house by house. In the fields of mobilization, organization, and mass actions, the work that is being done is weak in view of the existing possibilities and exigencies of the Program. Millions of Brazilians who are discontented with the present situation still have not joined the struggle, and the protesting masses are not yet organized. Therefore, there are millions who are not yet organized and who do not participate actively in the United Front Movement.

In the task of building the United Front of masses, there is still a tendency toward little effort by the Base, or toward work merely of a liaison nature. This occurs mainly because of the organic and political weakness of the primary organizations of the Party, which still do not act as political leaders of the masses in all fields. A very grave tendency lies in the disdain for the worker-peasant alliance and in the resistance to extending the work of the Party in the rural areas.

What is the fundamental reason for our errors and for our slow progress in the struggle to transform the Party program into a program for all the people?

This cause is the persistence of tendencies of sectarianism and spontaneity in the ranks of the Party, tendencies that determine:

- 1) the lack of a spirit of unity, and indifference in the struggle for the greatest unity of action of the great working masses and in the work to mobilize the millions of people.
- 2) the lack of a concrete and clear policy by the primary organizations that would express the strong bond between the demands of the local populace and the demands ^{contained} ~~in~~ in the Party Program.
- 3) the excessive preoccupation with the work among personalities and the lack of ~~a~~firm effort to unite the great masses, to enlighten them, and to lead them to action in order to gain their support for the tasks and objectives of the Program.
- 4) the replacement of study of the characteristics of the concrete situation of each place where the Party operates, of the disposition of the class forces, of the characteristics of each class or social state, of the state of mind of the masses, and of their degree of awareness and organization by our desires, by the mechanical transplanting of methods and forms of work from one place to another.
- 5) the lack of patient work with those who do not think as we do, who are not of the Party ^{or} ~~or~~ friends of the Party - a fact that hinders progress with regard to the greatest unity.

The errors and weaknesses must be eliminated so that we may advance along the road of the FDLN.

"There are great democratic and patriotic forces that arise throughout the nation against the present government of national treason, forces which already understand the urgent need to save Brazil from the calamitous situation in which it finds itself," states the Party Program. These patriotic and democratic forces, nevertheless, are still scattered and, therefore, do not constitute the social force capable of overthrowing this government and replacing it with the GDLN. [Governo Democratico de

Libertacao Nacional, Democratic Government of National Liberation]. The class led by the PCB, as the most revolutionary class in Brazilian society, has the leadership role as a force capable of uniting, under its direction, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces.

The building of the FDLN demands a struggle for unity of action in all fields, and a struggle for extending and strengthening mass organizations. It is necessary to convince the Brazilian people by means of concrete actions that our Party is the Party of unity of the masses, of struggle for their demands, and that only the Communist Party can save Brazil. This demands that we extirpate all vestiges of sectarianism from the ranks of the Party. Communists must be where the masses are, understanding that the leadership role is not acquired automatically, but must be attained by the Party through a just policy and also through a patient, persistent daily effort with the masses to organize the United Front. Under present conditions, fighting for the United Front means, above all, establishing unity of action with the great popular masses, who, discontented and disillusioned, seek a solution for the problems that beset them. The Communists must do everything to facilitate this unity of action; they must be able to descend to the level of the masses and they must always act with the necessary flexibility, but they can never forget that their duty lies in elevating the masses to the level of the political positions of the Party. In this regard, there is the erroneous sectarian attitude of limiting the activity of the Communists exclusively to the objectives of the Program; also, there is the false position of lagging behind events, of reducing the activity of the Communists to fighting for the immediate demands of the masses.

All the forms of the United Front and of mass actions for the victory of the Program, which forms must be as varied as possible, must lead toward the FDLN and the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the government.

IV

In order to make progress in transforming the Party Program into a program for all the people, the activity of the Party must now be concentrated in the realization of the following political tasks:

1. Organize the popular struggle in defense of liberties and of the Constitution, against the Fascist terror, by unmasking, isolating, and overthrowing the government of the great landowners and capitalists in the service of the US.

Today popular discontent is a phenomenon of national scope. The best conditions exist to enlarge the struggles:

a) in defense of liberties and of the Constitution, against any new coup d'etat attempt by some clique or by the Fascist generals who strive to impose terror upon the people, and in defense of the right to strike and of union liberty;

b) in defense of worker and peasant demands, of popular demands such as the struggle for wage boosts, for a minimum salary, and for freezing of prices, etc.;

c) against preparations for war and in favor of national independence, such as defense of petroleum, electric energy, and national industry.

It is indispensable to accompany the rapid situation changes that are reflected in the feelings of the masses, changes which sometimes demand quick changes in orders.

2. Intensify and amplify the patriotic struggle for national emancipation.

It is possible to mobilize the overwhelming majority of the nation, who are interested in the independence of Brazil, around the following objectives:

a) defense of the natural resources of the nation from pillage by the North American monopolists;

b) denunciation of the harmful treaties signed with the government of the US;

c) struggle against intervention in the activities of the nation by agents of Washington.

The Communists must give the most decisive support to the nuclei of the LEN, appointing the best cadre to organize these nuclei and to act in them.

3. Intensify, amplify, and improve organizationally the struggle for peace.

The struggle for the building of the FDLN is inseparable from the struggle in defense of peace, because the North American imperialists want to drag Brazil into the struggle of aggression which they are preparing.

The policy of preparation for war of the present government must be exposed in a concrete way by denouncing every government action and every government step toward war, concentrating our efforts in the fight for peace on the following objectives:

a) for an end to the arms race, especially condemning the rearming of Germany and demanding an immediate prohibition of atomic weapons, and of all arms of mass extermination.

b) for a peaceful solution to international conflicts, especially with regard to the German and Japanese problems; for the conclusion of a peace treaty with a unified and democratic Germany, and for the signing of a peace treaty with Japan.

c) against the decisions taken at the Caracas conference, decisions that threaten the peace and interest of the people of Latin America; the text of these decisions must be explained to the great popular masses.

d) in favor of renewing relations with the Soviet Union, and for the restoration of commercial relations with the Soviet Union, China, and the other nations on the side of peace, democracy, and socialism.

The Brazilian Movement of Partisans of Peace must merit the most resolute support of the Communists, so that it may constantly increase its field of action.

4. Unite and organize the working class.

To fight for unity within the ranks of the working class is the first and main task of our Party. In order to draw all other social strata into the fight, the working class must set the example in the fight against exploitation and oppression.

This task can be achieved only by increasing the labor union endeavor and by intensifying the fight for labor unity. It is the duty of every Communist, who is eligible to do so, to join the union of his company or professional section, however reactionary they may be. The activity of the Communists in the unions must be concentrated around the following struggles:

- a) for the immediate demands of the workers, always linking them with political demands;
- b) for free elections in the unions; against ideological discrimination within unions;
- c) for peace, for democratic liberties, and for national emancipation;
- d) for the unity of labor unions.

The Communists have the duty of striving to convince the working class of the importance of labor unity as a principal weapon in the fight against their exploiters and oppressors. Taking on special significance in the field is the role played by the CTB, which increases the solidarity and cohesion, on the national level, of the Brazilian labor movement, linking it with the international movement of the CTAL and the FSM [WFTU].

At the same time that strong support is given to labor union leadership, work in the companies and the organization of Labor Union Councils at the places of work must merit the greatest attention.

In the labor movement, it is necessary to correct one of the weaknesses of our Party, which is a failure to link the immediate demands with the political objectives stated in the Program of the PCB. Comrade Prestes says: "The Party supports the demands of the labor unions and actively

participates in the fight for these demands; but at the same time it develops its orders, disseminates them, and enters into action for a Brazil that is free from the imperialist yoke, for the overthrow of the government of great landowners and capitalists and for its replacement by a GDLN. This means that no efforts are spared to convince the workers of the need for the FDLN as an indispensable instrument for victory in the revolutionary struggle."

5. Organize the great peasant masses in the struggle for the land.

The Party Program raises the banner of a radical agrarian reform, thereby constituting a powerful instrument, which, if made known and patiently explained to the millions of peasants, will cause them to revolt against the brutal exploitation to which they are subjected.

A weak point in the development of the revolutionary movement in our country is found in the insignificant and superficial work among the great peasant masses. In this regard, it is the duty of the Party:

a) to dedicate special attention to the activity of the Communists on the great farms and in the peasant concentrations of greatest importance;

b) to take concrete measures in order to promote the class struggle in rural areas, removing the peasant masses from the influence of the great landowners and bourgeoisie and winning their support for the struggle under the leadership of the working class. Therefore, it is of decisive importance to know the demands of each strata of the peasant population, demands that vary from region to region; and, by means of the fight for these demands, to make the peasant masses understand, through their own experiences, the justice of the Party Program.

c) to study the experience of holding peasant conferences and congresses, to urge the holding of new conferences, and to successfully conduct the campaign for five million signatures in favor of agrarian reform; to support the ULTAB [Uniao dos Lavradores e Trabalhadores Agricolas do Brasil, Union of Agricultural Workers of Brazil];

d) every organization of the Party must plan immediately its work in rural areas, désignating for this work politically developed cadre.

6. Greater attention to the work among the feminine masses.

In spite of bourgeoisie and feudal projudices aimed at imprisoning women in the ^{homes} ~~the~~, the women in Brazil have a great tradition of struggle. The victory of the revolution will not be possible without ^{the} ~~the~~ participation of the great feminine masses. The Party Program takes this matter into account and justly takes up the demands of the women.

There is still great disregard, within the Party, for the work among the women, who represent an important segment of the population, a reserve force to be won over by the working class. This is a manifestation of opportunism which reveals the existence in our ranks of bourgeoisie prejudices with regard to women. It is a duty of all Party Organizations and not only of the Primary Organizations of women:

a) to include, among their daily and permanent tasks, work among the feminine masses in order to orient and direct the struggle of women in defense of their rights, in defense of infancy and peace.

b) to take up the immediate demands of the women, of the working women, housewife, wife, mother, or worker's daughter; to arouse and to mobilize for political activity the peasant women, and oppressed and exploited mass of considerable size, which can be won over through struggles in defense of their rights, of peace, and of their children.

c) to support all women in their struggles, always bearing in mind the need to attract them, as well as their organizations, to the FDLN.

d) to give the greatest support to the Federation of Women of Brazil, actively participating in their campaigns, and striving to assure a firm peasant-worker base to the organizations of the Federation.

7. Expand the struggles and the organization of youth.

To assure victory to the Party program, it is indispensable to obtain the active participation of youth in the FDLN. Youth of less than 20 years of age constitute more than half the population, one-fourth of the urban

proletariat, and one-third of rural workers. These figures reveal how greatly reduced are the youthful members whom the Party has succeeded in mobilizing, and the inadequacy of the work of the Party among youth. This is due mainly to the sectarian tendencies of our political orientation, which have been corrected recently, and also to the underestimation of the youth movement, which is an expression of spontaneity for it means the abandonment of the great forces, represented by the youth, for the defense of Peace, liberties, and national independence. It is the duty of all Party organizations:

a) to fight for the interest of youth and exercise the role of political leader capable of giving youth a solution to the problems that beset them, and to find the forms of unity and organization that will enable youth to fight in the best way.

b) to support the activity of the UJC and to unite and organize the various sectors of youth in the struggle for their specific demands, in the struggle for peace, liberties, and national independence. The Party Program, which takes up all the main demands of youth, is a powerful instrument to facilitate the work of Party organizations and of the UJC with regard to educating youth and winning them to the FDLN.

V

The tasks presented indicate the main courses that can and must be used by the Party to unite and organize the masses for action, in order to establish the FDLN. The victory of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution is inevitable.

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25X1

Page Denied

Next 6 Page(s) In Document Denied

Our tasks in order to carry the Party Program to victory.

25X1

Summary:

1. Introduction.
2. To attain complete Party support for the program.
3. To transform the Party program into a program for all the people.
4. Our immediate tasks for the application of the program.
5. Conclusion.

I

When the program was revealed for discussion by the Party, by the working class and the people, and by all the democratic ~~and~~ and progressive forces of Brazil, the Central Committee set, for all the Party, two immediate and fundamental tasks as a duty of honor.

1. To attain complete Party support for the program.
2. To transform the Party program into a program for all the people and for all the democratic and progressive forces.

II

What successes and what weaknesses were revealed in the task of attaining complete Party support for the program?

The participation of the Communists in the discussion of the program was great and enthusiastic in the Party organizations, even before the initiation of the work of the Fourth Congress, and in the popular press, in the sections concerning the program. In spite of the great success revealed by this discussion of the program, still little advance was made in the execution of the task of assimilation of the program within the Party, inasmuch as only the first steps had been taken in the establishment of new methods of work in the Party and of new Party endeavors with the masses and the progressive forces of our country, an exigency which the program made known to the Party. The weak assimilation of the program within the Party was

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revealed in the events that followed the deposition and death of Vargas, when we led great mass struggles, but did not direct the events to advance our revolutionary objectives.

Serious misunderstanding of the program, a tendency toward abstentionism, the persistence of sectarianism, and the "leftist" opinions within our ranks were reflected in the electoral campaign through the small interest in using the electoral campaign as a legal form of struggle.

In the discussions of the program, which again reflected great insufficiencies, there were revealed:

1. The tendency toward generality and superficiality;
2. The tendency to discuss secondary questions and those of little importance;
3. A repetition of the program, word for word;
4. Speculative or academic debate;
5. Difficulties in actively joining the discussions of the program, because of the political and cultural backwardness of a good portion of the members of the Party.

These insufficiencies reveal, on the one hand, the political weakness of many of our primary organizations, and, on the other hand, the failure of the directorates to give direct and efficacious aid so that the militants might actually assimilate the Party program.

Tendencies that Emerged in the Discussion of the Program

1. The "leftist" manifestation, especially with regard to the national bourgeoisie and imperialism. Some militants believe that the national bourgeoisie is the enemy of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal agrarian revolution. Others believe that it is not right to concentrate the fire only against North American imperialism, and that we must fight against imperialism in general at the same time.
2. The "rightist" manifestation, also with regard to the national bourgeoisie and imperialism. Some members of the Party believe that the stirring up of the

class struggle prevents the conquering of the national bourgeoisie for the FLN. Other believe that the rest of the imperialists are allied and are no longer enemies of the Brazilian revolution, since we are directing the main liberating struggle against North American imperialism.

3. Capitulation tendencies. Some members of the Party raise doubts concerning the possibility and the feasibility of the victory of the program, thereby revealing a lack of confidence in Party strength and in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces. Other ask whether conditions exist to confront the North American imperialists, demonstrating that we are weak. Both of these manifestations of skepticism lead to passivity and cause those militants who make them to affirm that the Party program is false. To say that the struggle for the overthrow of the government of the great landowners and capitalists is an example of coup d'etat tendencies, or that it results from "leftist" deliriums, is a subterfuge to transform the Party program into an academic manual.

The Party program, as the program of the revolutionary proletariat, cannot leave confused the question of the attainment of political power, a fundamental question of every revolution, and it cannot fail to make known the currency of the struggle for the democratic government of national liberation.

In order to eliminate the deficiencies observed in the discussion of the program and to defeat the manifestations of tendencies contrary to the program, we must:

1. Elevate the level of the debates concerning the program;
2. Begin an impassioned and unyielding struggle in defense of the program and for its effective application, ~~not~~ not allowing tendencies and manifestations that are contrary to the program to have any place in the ranks of the Party.
3. Carry out a discussion of the Program in a concrete and vivid manner, linking it to local problems, to the demands of the masses, and to the better application of the program.

Influence of bourgeoisie nationalism - This was manifested in many militants and intermediate cadre of the Party who opposed the inclusion, in the program, of the right of foreigners to vote and to be elected, and freedom of instruction in the ~~mother~~ tongue to the children of immigrants. This position is contrary to the interests of the revolution and to proletarian internationalism.

III

Comrade ARRUDA says:

"In what measure did we struggle to disseminate and popularize the program of the workers and peasants, and to obtain unity with the various levels of the petty bourgeoisie and with the national bourgeoisie? What did we do for the formation of the FLN and for the ^{initiation} of revolutionary actions of the masses, for ~~the~~ unmasking, isolating, and overthrowing the government?"

With regard to this, there have been advances. The launching of the program marked an increase in the work of agitation and propaganda of the Party. Through newspapers of the Popular Press, which have a most important role in the agitational and propaganda work of the program, and through the press that is not under our influence; by means of pamphlets, circulars, conferences, discussions, and assemblies; by means of letters sent to ~~thousands~~ thousands of people; through radio stations and broadcasting services in the interior; by means of discussions at the entrances to industrial concerns; by house to house visits; and by discussions among peasants, at farm after farm--by all these means, the program was amply disseminated and discussed.

The launching of the program heightened the class struggle throughout the land; the struggles were expanded and intensified, and the influence of the Party increased, not only among the working class, but also among our allies. The strike movement spread everywhere. The workers fought for a minimum salary, for a wage boost, and against high living costs. The unity of the labor movement became strengthened with the general strikes of Rio Grande do Sul, Minas, and Sao Paulo. There was

successfully carried out the Second Conference of Agricultural and Peasant Workers, which prepared the peasants' charter of rights and established the ULTAB (Uniao dos Lavradores e Trabalhadores Agricolas do Brasil, Union of Agricultural Workers of Brazil).

From the successful realization of the Convention for National Emancipation, there emerged the LEN (Liga de Emancipacao Nacional, League of National Emancipation).

The Movement of the Peace Partisans widened its influence.

In Goiania, the intellectuals held an important congress in defense of national culture, and the students initiated a defense of democratic liberties.

With regard to work among women, the holding of the Latin American Conference of Women constituted an important success.

The movement for legalizing the Communist Party and for renewing relations with the USSR developed.

But the new and highest level reached by the democratic and national movement in Brazil was revealed especially in the great popular movements that followed the ousting of the Vargas government.

These movements were carried out, thanks mainly to the clarifying and mobilizing action of the Party program.

In the fields of mobilization, organization, and mass actions, the work that is being done is weak in view of the existing possibilities and exigencies of the program.

In the task of building the United Front of Masses, there is still a tendency *toward* little effort by the Base, or *toward* work merely of a liaison nature.

This occurs mainly because of the organic and political weakness of the primary organizations of the Party, which still do not act with political leaders of the masses in all fields.

Another very grave tendency lies in the disdain for the worker-peasant alliance and in the resistance to extending the work of the Party to the rural areas.

What is the fundamental reason for our errors and for our slow progress in the struggle to transform the Party program into a program for all the people? The

cause is the persistence of tendencies of sectarianism and spontandity in the ranks of the Party, tendencies that determine:

- a) The lack of a spirit of unity, and indifference in the struggle for the greatest unity of action of the great working masses and in the work to mobilize the millions of people.
- b) The lack of a concrete and clear policy by the Primary Organizations that would express the strong bond between the demands of the ~~the~~ local populace and the demands contained in the Party program.
- c) The excessive preoccupation with the work among personalities and the lack of firm and patient work to unite the masses.
- d) The replacement of ~~the~~ study of the characteristics of the concrete situation of each place where the Party operates, by our desires, by the mechanical transplantation of methods and forms of work from one place to another.
- e) The lack of patient work with those who do not think as we do. The Party program imposes upon us the necessity to march with everyone, absolutely everyone who wishes to take a step in the struggle for national independence, for peace, for democratic liberties, and for a democratic government of national liberation.

These errors must be eliminated so that we may advance along the road of the FDLN.

The building of the FDLN demands a struggle for unity of action in all fields, and a struggle for extending and strengthening mass organizations. This demands that we extirpate all vestiges of sectarianism from the ranks of the Party.

Comrade PRESTES says:

"In the present situation, it is sectarianism which constitutes the main obstacle to the successful realization of the most important immediate task that has been presented by the program, not only to Communists, but to all patriots -- the struggle for the establishment, expansion, and strengthening of the FDLN."

The Communists must do everything to facilitate unity of action among the broad masses of people; they must be able to descend to the level of the masses and they must always act with the necessary flexibility, but they can never forget that

their duty lies in elevating the masses to the level of the political positions of the Party.

The United Front will have consistency and will constitute a step toward construction of the FDLN only if it counts upon the ~~the~~ support of the masses and serves to stimulate their action. Renouncing sectarianism means, therefore, not only establishing contact with personalities, which in many cases is advantageous, but finding ways to move the masses to action.

IV

The activity of the Party must now be concentrated in the realization of the following political tasks:

1. Organize the popular struggle in defense of liberties and of the Constitution, against the Fascist terror, by unmasking, isolating, and overthrowing the government of the great landowners and capitalists in the service of the US. Today popular discontent is a phenomenon of national scope. The best conditions exist to enlarge the struggles:

a) in defense of ~~the~~ liberties and of the Constitution, against any new coup d'etat attempt by the Fascist generals who strive to impose terror upon the people, and in defense of the right to strike and of union liberty;

b) in defense of worker and peasant demands, of popular demands such as the struggle for wage boosts, for a minimum salary, and for freezing of prices;

c) against preparations for war and in favor of national independence, such as defense of petroleum, electric energy, ~~the~~ radioactive minerals, and national industry; also the fight against the Brazil-US military agreement.

In the emergency situation of the coup d'etat of 24 August, our successes would have been greater if it were not for the weakness of the mass organizations.

It is necessary to constantly enlarge the unity, and not to permit "leftist" elements, adventurers, or provocateurs, under pretext of elevating the forms of struggle, to prejudice the amplitude of the united front or to destroy the unity already attained. It is indispensable, also, to follow the rapid situation changes that are reflected in the feelings of the masses and to demand, at times, *quick changes in* ~~our~~ ~~order~~ our ~~order~~ order.

2. Intensify and amplify the patriotic struggle for national emancipation.

It is possible to mobilize the overwhelming majority of the nation, who are interested in the independence of Brazil, around the following objectives:

a) defense of the natural resources of the nation from pillage by the North American monopolists;

b) denunciation of the harmful treaties signed with the government of the US;

c) struggle against intervention in the activities of the nation by agents of Washington.

The Communists must give the most decisive support to the nuclei of the LEN, appointing the best cadre to organize these nuclei and to act in them. In the nuclei of the LEN, the Communists must be the cohesive elements among the various social groups, always striving to promote the concrete action of the masses for the objectives contained in the "Charter of National Emancipation."

3. Intensify, amplify, and improve organizationally the struggle for peace.

The struggle for the building of the FDLN is inseparable from the struggle in defense of peace, because the North American imperialists want to drag Brazil into the struggle of aggression which they are preparing and to utilize the Brazilian people as cannon fodder. The defeat of the policy of preparation for war of the present government will constitute a powerful contribution of the Brazilian people to the cause of peace and, at the same time, an important factor in the struggle for national independence from the North American imperialist yoke. We must concentrate our efforts in the fight for peace on the following objectives:

a) Against the decisions taken at the Caracas Conference, decisions that the threaten/peace and interests of the people of Latin America. It is necessary to link ~~the~~ this struggle to solidarity with the people of Guatemala.

b) In favor of renewing relations with the USSR.

c) For an end to the arms race, especially condemning the simultaneous/rearming of Germany, as well as for the immediate prohibition of bacteriological warfare,

atomic weapons, and all arms of mass extermination.

d) For a peaceful solution to international conflicts, especially with regard to the German and Japanese problems.

The Brazilian Movement of Partisans of Peace must merit the most resolute support of the Communists, so that it may constantly increase its field of action.

4) Unite and organize the working class. To fight for unity within the ranks of the working class is the first and main task of our Party. The unity of the working class is indispensable to the overthrow of the anti-national and anti-popular policy of the ruling classes, and to the carrying out of its hegemonic role in the struggle for liberation. It is the duty of every Communist, who is eligible to do so, to join the union of his company or professional section, however reactionary they may be. The activity of the Communists in the unions must be concentrated around the following struggles:

- a) for the immediate demands of the workers, always linking them with political demands;
- b) for free elections in the unions;
- c) for peace, for democratic liberties, and for national emancipation;
- d) for the unity of labor unions.

Unity, unity for action, can only be achieved through an implacable denunciation of the enemies, of all divisionists.

At the same time that strong support is given to labor union leadership, work in the companies and the organization of Labor Union Councils at the places of work must merit the greatest attention. In the labor movement, it is necessary to correct one of the weaknesses of our Party, which is a failure to link the immediate demands with the political objectives of the PCB.

5) Organize the great peasant masses in the struggle for^{the} land.

The Party program raises the banner of a radical agrarian reform, thereby constituting a powerful instrument, which, if made known and patiently explained to the millions of peasants, will cause them to revolt against the brutal exploitation to which they are subjected.

A weak point in the development of the revolutionary movement in our country is found in the small and superficial work among the great peasant masses.

In this regard, it is the duty of the Party:

a) to dedicate special attention to the activity of the Communists on the great farms and in the peasant concentrations of greatest importance;

b) to take concrete measures in order to promote the class struggle in rural areas, removing the peasant masses from the influence of the great landowners and bourgeoisie and winning their support for the struggle under the leadership of the working class.

c) to study the experience of holding peasant conferences and congresses, to urge the holding of new conferences, and to successfully conduct the campaign for five million signatures in favor of agrarian reform;

d) every Regional, Zonal, or District Committee and every Primary Organization of the Party must plan its work in rural areas, designating for this work politically developed cadre.

6) Greater attention to the work among the feminine masses.

The victory of the revolution will not be possible without the participation of the great feminine masses. The Party program takes this matter into account and justly takes up the demands of the women. There is still great disregard, within the Party, for the work among the women, who represent an important segment of the population. This is a manifestation of opportunism which reveals the existence in our ranks of bourgeois prejudices with regard to women.

It is a duty of all Party Organizations and not only of the Primary Organizations of women:

a) To include, among their daily and permanent tasks, work among the feminine masses in order to orient the struggle of women in defense of their rights, in defense of infancy and peace.

b) To take up the immediate demands of the women, of the working woman, housewife, wife, mother, or worker's daughter.

-10- CONFIDENTIAL

c) To support all women in their struggle, always bearing in mind the need to attract them, as well as their organizations, to the FDLN.

d) To give the greatest support to the Federation of Women of Brazil, actively participating in their campaigns.

7) Expand the struggles and the organization of youth. To assure victory to the Party program, it is indispensable to obtain the active participation of youth in the FDLN. Youth of less than 20 years of age constitute more than half the population, one-fourth of the urban proletariat, and one-third of rural workers. In spite of the achievements of the Union of Communist Youth, that organization is far from satisfactorily fulfilling its tasks. This is due to the false tendency, which still prevails, among the leaders of the UJC, to make that organization a kind of Communist Party for youth. The UJC should be an independent organization without any party, the leader of the struggle of all youth for their interests; an organization to enable youth to educate itself in the spirit of class struggle, of proletarian internationalism, and of Marxism-Leninism, in accordance with suitable methods, recreational activities, festivals, sports contests, cultural affairs, etc.

It is the duty of all Party organizations:

a) To fight for the interests of youth by exercising the role of political leader capable of giving youth a solution to the problems that beset them, and to find the forms of unity and organization that will enable youth to fight in the best way.

b) To support the activity of the UJC and to unite and organize the various sectors of youth in the struggle for their specific demands, in the struggle for peace, liberties, and national independence.

The Party program, which takes up all the main demands of youth, is a powerful instrument to facilitate the work of Party organizations and of the UJC with regard to educating youth and winning them to the FDLN.

V

The tasks presented indicate the main courses that can and must be used by the Party to unite and organize the masses for action, in order to establish

the FDLN.

The building of this united front, which will be forged in the very process of the struggles, must adhere to the following principles:

- 1) With the working class in the forefront, and supported by the worker-peasant alliance, enlighten and unite the majority of the Brazilian population.
- 2) Win the support of all possible allies.
- 3) Attract the national bourgeoisie to the united front.
- 4) Ably exploit the contradictions.
- 5) Isolate the enemies as much as possible.
- 6) Fight the enemies one by one.
- 7) Always concentrate the fire on the main enemy.

Comrade PRESTES says:

"It depends on the activity of the Communists to be able to give form to the spontaneous movement of the masses; to be able to find, seeking to learn with the masses themselves, the right manner of uniting and organizing all the patriotic, anti-imperial, and anti-feudal forces, which constitute the overwhelming majority of the Brazilian people; in short, to forge, during the struggle itself, the powerful and invincible FDLN."

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Questions

1. What "leftist" manifestations emerged in the discussion of the program?
2. How did the influence of bourgeois nationalism reveal itself?
3. How was the capitulation tendency revealed?

CONFIDENTIAL

4. What success did we have in carrying out the task of transforming the Party program into a program for all the people?

5. What weaknesses do we have in our work?

6. What is the main cause of our weakness in the political work with the masses.

7. Why must we combat the spontaneous sectarian tendencies?

Where can such tendencies lead?

8. What are our immediate tasks in the political struggle?

9. What are the concrete tasks in the struggle for peace?

10. What are the concrete tasks in the struggle for unity of the working class.

11. What are the concrete tasks for organizing the great masses of peasants?

12. What principles must we follow in order to forge the united anti-feudal and anti-imperialist front?

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Page Denied

Next 11 Page(s) In Document Denied

How To Be A Good Communist

25X1

- I. Why Party members should be interested in their own education.
- II. What ideology is and how the ideology of the proletariat originates.
- III. The processes and objectives of the education of Party members.
- IV. The relationship between the study of Marxist-Communist theory and the ideological education of Party members.
- V. The origin of foreign ideologies in the Party.
- VI. Strive to be the best disciples of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

I. Man is endowed with a conscience and in this he differs from the other animals; therefore, he is capable of perfecting himself and of changing constantly. Hence, man has unlimited possibilities in his education.

Humanity has not always been the same, It is changing constantly. From a savage state to the present time, humanity has undergone periods of constant improvement. The development of society from its lowest stages to the present one is a need of the very development of society, and this development has been accomplished through the greatest sacrifices, struggles, and revolutions.

What is said regarding humanity as a whole can also be stated regarding each individual. Each human being has unlimited possibilities of perfecting himself. This self-improvement is transformed into reality in accordance with one's living conditions and the help received from society, and in accordance with one's own individual effort to develop.

No one is born wise or with an understanding of all branches of human knowledge. No one is born a Communist. One can have the desire to be a Communist, or think that he is a Communist, but only with the help of the Party and through his own individual effort is this achieved. All have possibilities of transforming themselves into good Communists; some have greater possibilities than others. The

Party strives to aid all its members in becoming good Communists; with regard to this help, there is no difference between this or that individual. The decisive fact, however, is that the training of the militant depends, fundamentally, on the efforts of the militant himself.

II. Ideology is a form of social conscience; it is a collection of ideas, representations, and concepts that reflect definite material conditions in the lives of men. As a man lives, so he thinks.

The ideology of men corresponds to the method of producing the material goods, it corresponds to the substructure.

The ideology is manifested in various ways in politics, ethics, philosophy, religion, law, art, etc. All of these forms change in accordance with changes in the methods of production. What is necessary to point out is that a society divided into classes has an ideology of a class nature. Each class has varying material conditions of life, and the class ideology is formed in accordance with these conditions of life. In the capitalist society, the bourgeoisie ideology corresponds to the bourgeoisie and the socialist ideology corresponds to the proletariat.

The ideologies directly serve the class interests; they are at the service of each class to which they correspond. Ideology is a very important weapon in the class struggle.

The dominant ideology in a class society is the ideology of the dominant class. The dominant class controls all the means of material production, and it also controls almost all the means of intellectual production. The dominant class, therefore, controls all the instruments and can impose its ideology, for a greater or lesser time, on the oppressed classes.

(In the capitalist society, ideology has a double development; there is the bourgeoisie ideology, and emerging and developing at the same time is the ideology of the proletariat.)

(Therefore, Marx said that the bourgeoisie enslaves, not only the arm of the worker, but also his head, his ~~body~~ mind.)

The ideology of the proletariat originates and develops inevitably in the very condition of the development of the capitalist society. Within the labor movement there begin to emerge socialist tendencies; the working class rebels against the state of oppression to which it is subjected. Because of their living conditions, the working class seeks the means to attain their emancipation.

The struggle of the proletarian class makes inevitable the appearance of the socialist ideology. Nevertheless, the ideology of the proletariat does not originate spontaneously within the worker movement. The socialist ideology is a scientific one; it results from the very development of science, from the critical reelaboration of the proletarian viewpoint, from everything progressive that human culture has produced.

Marx and Engels completely dominated the knowledge of their epoch, all human culture, and correctly orienting it from the proletarian viewpoint they reshaped that knowledge and created the socialist ideology. The theoretical basis of the socialist ideology is Marxism-Leninism.

The socialist ideology is introduced into the ranks of the proletariat by the conscious action of the Communist Party. It is clear that the socialist ideology encounters enormous receptivity in the working class because it reflects with scientific accuracy the living conditions of the working class and also the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. If this is said regarding the proletariat as a whole, it is also said regarding each worker and each Communist.

No Party member acquires the ideology of the proletariat spontaneously; he must receive the help of the Party, and he must also make an immense individual effort to assimilate this ideology of the proletariat, rejecting the ideology of the dominant class, the ideology of the bourgeoisie.

III. In order to assimilate the ideology of the proletariat and to train himself as a Communist, a Party member must change constantly, must improve more and more, and must educate himself more and more in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The Party militant makes that transformation by means of struggle in all fields. In order to progress, to raise his ideological level, and to improve his revolutionary qualities, a Party member must:

1. Educate himself in the practical struggle.
2. Educate himself in the realm of ideas, in theory.
3. Study the revolutionary experiences of our people, as well as the historical experiences of other people.
4. Actually participate in the present revolution.

In his effort to ~~himself~~ train himself, he must develop his subjective initiative, that is, his own initiative to study and assimilate the ideology of the proletariat. He must gradually discover the enemy within himself. It is necessary to determine our weaknesses, our errors, our false concepts, and to uncover mistakes, our former actions, our prejudices, in order to correct them. Only thus will we be able to elevate our level of consciousness and our revolutionary qualities. A revolutionary cannot isolate himself from the practical revolution, nor can he spare any efforts toward his self-education. Without practice, it is impossible to make progress toward Communism.

In order for a revolutionary or Party member to develop, his self-education and his study during the struggle itself are indispensable. That revolutionary education is very important for every militant of our Party, principally for the new members and especially for those of a non-proletarian origin.

Why is it important for new Party members? Because, as Party members, they are still deficient in their revolutionary proletarian development.

Why is it important for the non-proletarian elements? Lenin said that the Party members who came from the working class had the innate qualities of the working class, that is, its defects and virtues. Hence, it is concluded that the militants from other classes have the innate qualities of the other classes, that is, they accept the Communist ideology, but they retain to a greater degree the remnants of the ideology of their class.

Communist education is important for all Party members, including veterans of worker origin, because it is not possible to live in a society divided into classes without suffering the influence of the ideology of the dominant class.

Our Party originated in the existing rotten and filthy Brazilian society, and the militants bring with them, to a greater or lesser degree, traces of the society to which they belong. On the other hand, we continue in constant contact with that society. That is why all Party members must undertake their ideological education. In order to elevate our consciousness and understanding of Marxism-Leninism, we must develop our education in various aspects. In order to develop into good Communists, we must elevate our education with the following objectives:

1. Education in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and in its application in practice.
2. Education in strategy and in revolutionary tactics.
3. Education in proletarian ideology and character training in accord with Communist ethics.
4. Education in the spirit of Party unity, in the internal struggle of the Party, and in Party discipline.
5. Education in the hard work and in the style of work, whereby the practical spirit is allied to the revolutionary impulse.
6. Education in the close union with the people and in the ability to deal with various types of persons.
7. Education in the various branches of scientific knowledge.

We are all Party members, but there are great differences between us. We are not all equal; we differ in the level of political consciousness, in work capabilities, in the position that we occupy in the Party, in cultural level, in experience in the fight, in social origin, etc. Therefore, we must bear these facts in mind in our own education and in the education of other comrades. What matters is that we must not isolate ourselves from the revolutionary struggles, from the different classes of the people; we must gain historical experience and humbly

learn from experience in order to apply it to the present revolutionary practice.

This means that we must listen to the opinions of our comrades and of the masses, that we must carefully study the practical problems of our work and take advantage of all experience that arises from that work in order to help ourselves in the accomplishment of later tasks. We must use the methods of Marxism-Leninism to educate ourselves. In this regard, in our self-development, in our education, we must abolish one of the worst evils that we get from the education and apprenticeship in the existing society, namely, the separation of theory from practice. The development of a Communist is a lifetime task. A Communist is in a constant process of education; the more he learns, the more he understands that it is necessary to learn more. The education of a Communist is accomplished on all occasions and in connection with all problems.

IV. In order for a Party member to advance in the understanding and domination of Marxism-Leninism theory and methods, it is necessary that he take the proletarian viewpoint, and that he be in accord with the interests of the proletariat to assimilate and dominate the methods of Marxism-Leninism. The elements who still retain vestiges of the ideology of other classes are egoists, they are individualists and they cannot completely dominate the Marxist-Leninist theory. It is entirely false to think that one can master the Marxist-Leninist theory merely through the mind, through the intelligence, and through study. Marxism is the science of the proletarian revolution, and it can only be completely mastered and understood by those who transform the ideas of the working class into their own ideas.

Therefore, in the first place, in order to assimilate Marxism, we must take the proletarian viewpoint, and in the second place, for this it is necessary to study Marxism. Every Party member whose ideology is not correct and who retains remnants of another ideology or customs of another class, who has personal interests and private objectives, as well as material desires and egoistical ideas, will clash with the principles of Marxism and their conclusions. If we do not orient ourselves

from the viewpoint of the proletariat, we will not penetrate into the essence of Marxism, nor will we make of it a weapon of the proletariat.

Taking ^{the} foremost position in the education of Party members is the ideological education, which is the foundation of all education.

What does ideological education signify? It signifies:

1. Carry ^{ing} out the struggle within ourselves to eradicate foreign ideologies and to assimilate the ideology of the proletariat.

2. It means the permanent struggle in our minds, that is, replacing ^{ing} any vision of the world that we have in our minds with the Communist vision of life and of the world. By means of study, reflection, and self-observation, we must extract all ideas that are opposed to Communism and to the interests of Communism. This is ideological education.

V. In his development and education, the Party member must clarify his Communist vision of life and of the world, he must clearly define the correct relationship between his personal interests and the interests of the Party.

In accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the relationships between the interests of the militant and the interests of the Party are formulated in the following manner:

1. The personal interests must be subordinated to the interests of the Party, that is, the Party member identifies the interests of the Party with his own interests, ^{and the} result ~~is~~ is a unity between ~~the~~ Party interests and personal interests.

2. Partial interests must be subordinated to the total interests. For example: all our tasks must be subordinated to the interests of the Party; the tasks of a definite sector are subordinated to the general interests.

3. We must subordinate temporary interests to the more permanent interests, subordinate temporary victories to permanent ones.

4. We must subordinate the interests of one nation to the interests of humanity.

The criterion by which a Party member can prove his loyalty to the Party and to the cause of the revolution and to Communism lies in his capacity to subordinate in an absolute and unconditional manner, under any circumstance, his personal interests to those of the Party. There are occasions when the personal objectives of Party members are part of Party objectives. Those objectives can therefore be attained. We must not see objectives, independent of Party objectives. If ~~■~~ a Party member has personal objectives that are different from the interests of the Party, this fact leads him to take opportunistic positions. If the Party member does not have demands independent of those of the Party, he will be capable of having an excellent Communist morale and be inflexible in defense of the Party viewpoint; he will be loyal to his comrades, he will aid these comrades unconditionally, and he will never prejudice anyone in favor of his own interests.

If a militant is free of any egoism, he can freely expose his errors and correct them; not having any objective to distinguish himself and to make a career, he can combat all tendencies toward self-sufficiency; he will be better prepared to assimilate the method of Marxism-Leninism, perceiving the problems with greater clarity and also seeing the true nature of the situation. Then he will be free of the preoccupations and ~~■■■■■~~ desires that might deform his manner of seeing things; he can combat all tendencies that are contrary to the Party, tendencies which can arise in him and outside him; he will have an objective attitude and he will not idealize things; he will not allow himself to be attracted by false theories, he will always see the interests of the proletariat and not individual interests; he will be sincere, honest, and the happiest of men, because he does not fear criticism; his life is an open book, he exposes his difficulties and he can criticize those of others. He will be capable, therefore, of greater respect for himself.

As a militant does not have any personal objectives, he does not have to court the favor of anyone, nor care about adulation; he will follow the example of the modern revolutionaries of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. In the interests of

the Party and of the revolution, he can take care of himself, protect his life and his health, and raise his capabilities--all this in carrying out the interests of the revolution and not his personal interests. If it is necessary to die for the revolution, he will know how to do it with honor and with pride.

In the interests of the Party, the militant is compelled to carry out hard and disagreeable tasks. But the good Communist does them willingly. The good Communist is he who always sees, above everything, the interests of the Party and not his personal interests.

VI. Our Party contains the most outstanding, the most progressive, the most capable elements of Brazilian society. Existing and developing within the Party is the most lofty ideology of humanity: Marxism-Leninism. In the ranks of our Party are persons of the greatest equilibrium, of the highest sense of responsibility, persons who are proper and of firm character. We have the honor of belonging to this Party.

However, not everything is perfect. Why do bad things exist in our Party? Although Party members constitute the vanguard of the Brazilian proletariat, they come from all strata of the Brazilian population and they live in the existing society, full of egoism, intrigues, and corruption of all kinds. All this is brought to the Party. Therefore, we must begin a tenacious struggle against these negative influences within the Party. Therefore, we must begin an internal struggle against these vacillating and insecure elements who reflect the negative things of this society.

In our Party, the foreign ideologies come especially from the great number of petty bourgeois elements who are attracted to the Party. These elements come to the Party, not with the objective of fighting for socialism, but as national-liberators. They do not understand that the nature of the Party is eminently proletarian. Many of these petty bourgeois elements, when performing an honest self-criticism of their national-liberator viewpoint, assimilate the ideology of the proletariat; many others, however, resist assimilating the ideology of the proletariat

and constitute the social base of opportunism in the Party. The same thing happens with the militants of peasant origin who come to the Party as democrats, that is, because they desire agrarian reform. These, too, when they do not assimilate the ideology of the proletariat, serve as a social base for deviations within the Party. In the Party, therefore, we must maintain the strictest revolutionary vigilance against the influence of the bourgeoisie ideology.

The militant must educate himself from the viewpoint of the proletariat in order to defend himself from bourgeoisie ideology.

VII. When the militant enters the Party, he satisfies the minimum demands as shown in Art. 2 of our Statutes. None of us can be a Party member without satisfying these minimum conditions. However, we must strive to be Party members who satisfy the maximum demands, the maximum conditions.

What revolutionary serves as a model for the Communist wishing to be a militant satisfying the maximum conditions?

We should have as our model the classic examples of Marxism-Leninism, that is, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. In our education, we should have as our objective the elevating of our own qualities to the level of the qualities of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. It is not easy to take Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin as examples for our education, but we must strive to be like them. For this, the militant must:

1. Possess a will of iron, a firm determination in the hard struggle for the cause of the proletariat.
2. Have a lifetime dedication for the study of Marxist Communism and its application in practice.
3. Incessantly strive toward his development as a Communist and his education in all aspects.

Prestes, too, is an example of the militant who fights constantly to place himself at the level of the chief of the Brazilian revolution and who always takes

-10-

as an example and model the great leaders of the international proletariat. If we study Marxism and Brazilian reality, if we have will power, and if we educate ourselves in Communist ethics, we will be fulfilling our duty. Only thus will we be good Communists.

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25X1

Page Denied

Next 5 Page(s) In Document Denied

25X1

How To Be A Good Communist

- I. Why Party members should be interested in their own education.
- II. What is ideology? How the ideology of the proletariat originates.
- III. The processes and objectives of the education of Party members.
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- VI. Strive to be the best disciples of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

I. Man is endowed with a conscience and in this he differs from the other animals; therefore, he is capable of perfecting himself and of changing constantly.

The development of society from its lowest stages to the present one is a need of the very development of society; this development has been accomplished through the greatest sacrifices, struggles, and revolutions. The driving force for changes in the lives of men is the transformation of the means of production itself.

In the History of the CPSU, Stalin teaches us:

"...the first characteristic of production is that it never remains in one stage for a long time, it is always in a state of change. ~~Changes~~ Changes of a general nature cause changes in the ideas, concepts, etc."

What is said regarding humanity as a whole can also be stated regarding each individual. Each human being has unlimited possibilities of being perfected. This self-improvement is transformed into reality in accordance with one's living conditions and the help received from society, and in accordance with one's own individual effort to develop.

Prestes, for example, was not born a Communist, he was not ^{educated} ~~born~~ for this. On the contrary, his education in childhood and youth suffered from the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

influence of the dominant class ideology. The realities of life carried Prestes into political activities. His patriotism, his humanism, his identification with the people, carried him into the struggle. In this political activity, PRESTES FOUND THE PARTY. With the help of the Party and through his own iron will (a characteristic of Prestes), he became a Communist. Through a profound ~~self-criticism~~ self-criticism of his entire past thought, and through a profound study of the Brazilian reality, he marched toward Marxism-Leninism. PRESTES became the best Communist in our Party, a model and example for all the Communists of the Party.

All have possibilities of transforming themselves into good Communists; some have greater possibilities than others. The Party strives to aid all members in becoming good Communists. The decisive fact, however, ^{is that} ~~the~~ the training of the militant depends, fundamentally, on the efforts of the individual. The assistance which the Party gives in the course is more help to some than to others, depending on the effort of each one.

II. Ideology is a form of social conscience; it is a collection of ideas, representations, and concepts that reflect definite material conditions in the lives of men. As a man lives, so he thinks.

"Marxism defends the thesis [illegible] that determines the being, the way of life [illegible] determines the social conscience." (Marx.)

The economic substructure [illegible] men) gives origin to the superstructure [illegible]

The ideology is the part [illegible] that corresponds to the economic substructure. [illegible] in various ways in politics, ethics, philosophy, religion, law, art, various social theories, etc. All of these forms change in accordance with changes in the methods of production in the society.

Concepts vary in accordance with the society, its economy, and its method of production.

What is necessary to point out is that a society divided into classes has an ideology of a class nature.

In the capitalist society, the bourgeoisie ideology corresponds to the bourgeoisie and the socialist ideology corresponds to the proletariat.

Each class uses the ideology in accordance with its class interests.

The bourgeoisie utilizes it to perpetuate capitalism; the working class utilizes it to free itself from the yoke of capitalist exploitation.

MARX said: "The dominant ideology in a society of classes is the ideology of the dominant class."

The dominant class controls all the means of material production, factories, lands, etc. Consequently, it also controls all the means of intellectual production. The dominant class controls all the instruments and can impose its ideology, for a greater or lesser time, on the oppressed classes, halting the struggle of the working class for its emancipation.

The bourgeoisie also uses its agents within the working class itself, infiltrating its reformist agents to divert the masses from the course of revolution.

The ideology of the proletariat originates inevitably in the very condition of the development of the capitalist society. Therefore, it is the capitalist society itself that forms the ideology of the proletariat.

The struggle of the proletariat class makes inevitable the appearance of the socialist ideology. Nevertheless, the ideology of the proletariat, the socialist ideology, does not originate spontaneously within the worker movement.

The socialist ideology is the only scientific one. It results from the development of science itself, from the critical reelaboration from the proletarian viewpoint, from everything progressive that human culture has produced.

MARX and ENGELS completely dominated the knowledge of their epoch, and correctly orienting it from the proletarian viewpoint they reshaped that knowledge and created the socialist ideology.

Lenin and Stalin developed the socialist ideology, raising it to a higher

level. The technical foundation of the ~~Communist~~ social ideology is Marxism-Leninism. Marxism is the theoretic basis of the political, ethical, artistic, theoretic, and social concept of the world of the proletariat.

The socialist ideology is introduced into the ranks of the proletariat by the conscious action of the Communist Parties. It reflects with scientific accuracy the living conditions of the working class and also the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. Therefore, it encounters enormous receptivity.

III. In order to assimilate the ideology of the proletariat and to train himself as a Communist, a Party member must change constantly, must improve more and more, and must educate himself more and more in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

In order to progress, to raise his ideological level, and to improve his revolutionary qualities, a Party member must:

- A. Educate himself in the practical struggle.
- B. Educate himself in the realm of ideas (theory).
- C. Study the revolutionary experiences of his people, as well as the historical experiences of the people.

D. Actually participate in the present revolution, assimilate the previous experiences, assimilate the theories (which is the generalization of the experiences of the worker movement), but also participate in the struggle.

While struggling to train himself, the Party member should remember that he must gradually understand and dominate the laws of social development, the laws of the class struggle, and the laws of the revolution.

It is necessary to determine our weaknesses, our errors, our false concepts, and to uncover mistakes, our former actions, our prejudices, in order to correct them. Only thus will we be able to elevate our level of consciousness, to perfect our revolutionary qualities.

Various Party members participate together in a struggle and are subjected to the same revolutionary practice; however, they may receive, in

4 CONFIDENTIAL

different ways, the influence of this practical revolution in their development. Some advance a little, those who were retarded advance impetuously. Some vacillate in the struggle, others abandon it. In order for a revolutionary, a Party member, to develop into a cadre member, it is indispensable that he strive toward self-education and that he learn from the struggle itself.

A Party member must forge and strengthen his individual education, not only in the hard struggle, and sometimes in defeat, but also in the course of the struggle itself. He must learn, both in the defeats, as well as in the victories.

Lenin said that the Party members who came from the working class had the innate qualities of the working class, that is, its defects and virtues. Hence, it is concluded that the militants from other classes have the innate qualities of the other classes, that is, more defects than virtues; they accept the Communist ideology, but they retain to a greater degree the rest of the ideology of their class.

Revolutionary training and Communist education are important for new Party members of non-proletarian origin, and even for veterans of worker origin, for it is not possible to serve in a society divided into masses without suffering the influence of the ideology of the dominant class.

In order to elevate our consciousness and understanding of Marxism-Leninism, we must develop our education in various aspects. In order to develop into good Communists, we must elevate our education with the following objectives:

1. Education in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and in its application in practice.
2. Training in strategy and in ~~the~~ revolutionary practice.
3. Education in proletarian ideology and character training in accord with Communist ethics.
4. Education in the spirit of Party unity, of intensive Party struggle, and in Party discipline.
5. Education in the hard work and in the style of work, whereby the practical spirit is allied to the revolutionary ~~impulse~~ impulse.

6. Education in the close union with the people and in the ability to deal with various types of persons.

7. Education in the various branches of scientific knowledge.

This means that we must effect our own education in the course of our own practice, also using the basis of our practical experience of the past and the new experiences of the present.

The development of a Communist is a lifetime task. He is in a constant process of education; the more he learns, the more he sees that he does not know and that it is necessary to learn more.

IV. In order for a Party member to advance in the understanding and domination of Marxism-Leninism theory and methods, it is necessary that he take the proletarian viewpoint or position, that he be a Communist in accordance with the interests and viewpoints of the proletariat. It is entirely false to think that one can master the Marxist-Leninist theory merely through the mind, through the intelligence, through study.

Marxism and the science of the proletarian revolution can only be completely mastered and understood by those who adopt the viewpoint of the proletariat and transform the ideas of the working class into their own ideas.

In order to study the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism, it is necessary for that study to be preceded by our ideological development and education. It is the ideological education that gives us the viewpoint of the proletariat. But while we train ourselves in the ideological viewpoint, it is also necessary to understand and dominate the Marxist-Leninist theory and method.

Marxist principles and their conclusions will clash with the vague and uncertain position of any Party member whose ideology is not correct and who retains remnants of another ideology or customs of another class, who has personal interests and private objectives, as well as a trace of material desire and egoistical ideas.

If we do not orient ourselves from the viewpoint of the proletariat, we will not penetrate into the essence of Marxism, nor will we make of it a weapon of the proletariat. Marxism has nothing in common with the ideology of the bourgeoisie. For that reason, we must break with all former concepts.

What does ideological education signify?

1. It is carrying out the struggle by the same method [REDACTED] to eradicate foreign ideologies and to assimilate the ideology of the proletariat.
2. The permanent struggle to replace any vision of the world that we have in our mind by the Communist vision of life and of the world.

Ideological education means that we must carry on a constant struggle to subordinate personal interests and objectives to the interests and objectives of the Party and of the people.

V. Our Party contains the most outstanding, the most progressive, the most capable elements of Brazilian society. Developing within the Party is the most lofty ideology of humanity: Marxism-Leninism. In the ranks of our Party are persons of the greatest equilibrium, of the highest sense of responsibility, persons who are proper and of firm character. We have the honor of belonging to this Party. However, not everything is perfect. Although the Party members may be of the best, constituting the vanguard of the Brazilian proletariat, they come from all strata of the population, and still live in this society which is full of egoism, intrigues, and corruption of all kinds. Our task is to create the revolution; therefore, we must conduct, within the Party, a tenacious struggle against these retrograde and vindictive influences within the Party. For this very reason, we must carry on, within the Party, an intensive struggle against the vacillating and unsure elements who reflect the negative things of this society.

Stalin, in Problem No. 32, page 36, teaches us that the parts of contradiction within the Communist Party cause:

1. Pressure by the bourgeoisie and by the bourgeois ideology on the

proletariat and its Party (pressure that affects the least firm persons of the proletariat and the least firm of the Party).

2. Heterogeneity of the working class; within the working class there are three levels:

- a) the pure blood, the heart, the constant part;
- b) the recent arrivals from the non-proletarian classes;
- c) the worker aristocracy.

Within the Party, we must maintain the most rigorous, revolutionary vigilance against the influence of the bourgeoisie ideology.

The militant must educate himself from the proletarian viewpoint in order to defend himself from the influence of the bourgeoisie.

VI. When the militant enters the Party, three demands are made of him:

1. Accept the program and the statutes.
2. Pay the dues.
3. Participate in an organization; fulfill and execute the tasks

assigned to him.

These are the minimum conditions. None of us should be a Party member by merely satisfying the minimum conditions. We should strive to be Party members who satisfy the maximum demands. We must educate and train ourselves with the objective of elevating our understanding of Marxism-Leninism and of satisfying the standard of a militant of maximum conditions. The classic^{examples} of the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin movement should be our models of a militant who satisfies the conditions.

To elevate our awareness of comprehension of Marxism-Leninism, we must develop our education in various aspects. To become good Communists, we must improve our education, with the following objectives:

1. Education in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and in the practical application of this theory.

2. Education in revolutionary strategy and tactics.
3. Education in proletarian ideology and character training in accordance with Communist ethics.
4. Education in the kind of Party community, in the intensive struggle of the Party, and in Party discipline.
5. Education in the hard work and in the style of work, whereby the practical spirit is united with the revolutionary impulse.
6. Education in the close ties with the people and skill in dealing with different types of persons.
7. Education in the various branches of scientific knowledge. This means that we should carry out our own education along the lines of our best example; here in Brazil, that is comrade Prestes!

Stalin said, on the 50th anniversary of Lenin, that two types of Marxists exist; those who outwardly accept Marxism; those who apply Marxism to reality.

We must struggle to be like Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin; not capitulate when confronted with difficulties; wage a great battle. For this, the militant must:

1. Possess an iron will, a firm determination in the arduous struggle for the cause of the proletariat.
2. Possess a dedication throughout life for the study of Marxism-Leninism and its practical application.
3. Incessantly strive toward his development as a Communist and his development in all aspects.

Prestes is an example of the militant who fights constantly to place himself at the level of chief of the Brazilian revolution ^{who} and always takes as an example and model the great leaders of world Marxism.

If we study Marxism and Brazilian reality, if we have will power, if we understand the laws of the development of society, and if we educate ourselves in Communist ethics, we will be fulfilling our duty. Only thus will we be good Communists.

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1. How did ideologies originate in a society divided into classes?
2. Can the ideology of the proletariat be acquired spontaneously?
3. What are the Communist educational objectives?
4. Why must the study of theory be linked with practice?
5. What is the importance of the self-education method?
6. What is the relation between ideological education and the study of Marxist-Leninist theory?
7. What does it mean to subordinate personal interests to those of the Party?
8. How is individualism manifested within the Party?
9. What is the origin of foreign ideologies within the Party?
10. What does it mean to strive to be the best disciples of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin?
11. What example did Comrade Prestes give us for our Communist education?

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TWO CAMPS IN THE POSTWAR WORLD

25X1

Summary:

1. Recent weakening of capitalism and strengthening of the socialists.
 - a. The imperialist camp has been considerably reduced;
 - b. The great ^{achievements} ~~progress~~ of the democratic forces;
 - c. Formation of two camps: the imperialist and the democratic.
2. US imperialism, the worst enemy of peace, liberty, and independence of nations.
 - a. US imperialism struggles for world domination;
 - b. The cold-war policy;
 - c. The right-wing socialists, agents of the imperialists;
 - d. Sharpening of the ^{conflicts} ~~conflict~~ in the imperialist camp;
 - e. ~~Specific~~ ^{signs} ~~signs~~ and peculiarities which characterize the current international situation.
3. The USSR, the principal directing force of the democratic camp.
 - a. The basic line of Soviet foreign policy;
 - b. The Soviet program for a lasting democratic peace;
 - c. Soviet policy towards the countries which were defeated in World War II - attitude towards Germany and Japan;
 - d. The USSR defends the independence of nations;
 - e. The USSR and the UN;
 - f. The USSR defends peaceful coexistence ~~between~~ between the ~~countries~~ countries of the capitalist system and those of the socialist system;
 - g. Tasks of the Communist Party of the USSR in the field of foreign policy.

CHAPTER I -- RECENT WEAKENING OF CAPITALISM AND STRENGTHENING OF SOCIALISM

- a. The imperialist camp has been considerably reduced.

The victory of the peace-loving peoples in the war against the Fascist aggressors brought essential changes in the international situation, and the defeat of these aggressors modified the balance of power in the world arena in

CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

favor of the socialist system. The imperialists had as their objective, in participating in World War II, the liquidation or weakening of the USSR and the suffocation of the international democratic workers' movement. Exactly the opposite came to pass, as the result of the victory over the Fascist aggressors, and the USSR came out of the war more powerful than before, with its authority and international prestige increased, because the USSR had played the principal role in the military defeat of Fascism.

The capitalist system received a new and powerful blow, several very important countries left the capitalist camp, and the area under imperialist domination was greatly reduced; moreover, the following noteworthy events took place in the imperialist camp: Germany, Japan, and Italy ceased to be great powers, and France also lost her status as a great power during the war. ^{Now} ~~instead~~, instead of the 6 great powers which existed before the war, only 2 remained: England, which had lost her ~~status~~ status of prime importance, and the US, which came out of the war greatly strengthened, but in the midst of a decaying world.

b. The great ^{achievements} of the democratic forces

The first ^{achievement} of the democratic forces consists in the permanent liberation from servitude to capitalism of the countries of Central ^{and Eastern} Europe ~~where~~, where ~~People's~~ People's-Democratic regimes, directed by the ^{Deep-seated} working class, were established. ~~transformations~~ transformations, both economic and social, were achieved there. For example:

Landed estates were abolished; banks, transportation, and heavy and medium industry became the property of the state;

Conditions were created for the development of socialism. In the People's Democratic countries of Europe, the People's-Democratic regimes perform the functions of dictatorship of the proletariat. The working out of new systems for the liquidation of the centers of resistance ~~of~~ the exploit^{ers} ~~and~~ and the achievement of an alliance between the workers and the peasants, ^{are} ~~consolidating~~ the people's-democratic regime. ^{Economic planning} ~~was initiated~~ and these countries entered a period of such prosperity as had never been known before.

- 2 -

-3-
achievement

Another unprecedented [redacted] of the democratic camp is the rise of the World Movement of Partisans of Peace, under whose banner millions of people throughout the world are fighting. The third great achievement of the democratic forces is the unification of the working class of the world under the banner of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Women also are organizing on a scale never before achieved; in the International Democratic Federation of Women, which ^{has} [redacted] a membership of 103 million women from 63 countries; and the youth are organized into the Democratic Federation of Youth of the World, which has a membership of 93 million young people from 80 countries.

Another feature of the great democratic progress, which ^{indicates} [redacted] the strength and extent of the workers' movement, and the growth of the Communist and workers' parties, is the fact that whereas 20 years ago there were only 500 active Party members in the world, there are 24 million today outside the USSR, in which country there are 7 million active members, not counting *candidates for membership.* [redacted]

one of [redacted]
Finally, [redacted] the democratic achievements of the postwar period which indicate the weakening of the imperialist camp, is the momentum achieved by the national-liberation movement in various parts of the world, especially in the colonies and dependencies. The crisis of the colonial system of imperialism, which began after the October Revolution, was intensified after World War II; this system is entering the [redacted] breaking-up process: ^{it} is, in fact, plainly crumbling.

In the struggle of the nations for their liberty, the [redacted] victory of the Chinese people stands out because of its importance in the history of the world. This is one of the most important events since the October Revolution.

c. Formation of 2 ^camps: the imperialist and the democratic

During World War II, a coalition of nations called the United Nations was formed. This was a heterogeneous coalition, including the USSR on the one hand and the US, England, [redacted] etc. on the other.

Although it was a coalition of countries with different types of regimes, it had a common objective, the destruction of Nazi-Fascism. But these countries

-4-

also had different objectives. The USSR and the peace-loving peoples had the following aims:

1. The ~~total~~ total defeat of Fascist Germany and Japan;
2. The liquidation of Fascism;
3. The restoration and strengthening of the democratic regimes which had fallen victim to Fascism;
4. Prevention of a third World War;
5. Assurance of peaceful and lasting cooperation among nations.

The British and American imperialists, although they had marched side by side with the USSR, sought ~~different~~ different objectives:

1. Weakening of Germany and Japan in order to get rid of two competitors;
2. Weakening of the USSR, causing the USSR to lose its position as a great power, and converting it into a subject of the US and Britain;
3. Establishment of their own domination throughout the world.

This difference of objectives, though veiled during the war, became more obvious after the war. These differences in aims resulted in different conduct on the part of the various members of the UN, and two fairly well-defined lines of political orientation began to ~~emerge~~ emerge. This led to the formation of two camps of countries: capitalist and socialist. This is a new phenomenon of the postwar period.

The criterion for dividing the world into two camps is not to see what kind of social system prevails in a given country or what is its geographical position, but rather the international policy that it follows: whether it is a policy of preparation for the unleashing of a new world war of rapine and enslavement, or ^{a policy} of liberty and independence of other countries. Thus, countries where a capitalist government prevails can belong to the democratic camp, as long as they possess a peace-loving government.

The US is the leader of the imperialist camp. Its basic aims in its leadership of the imperialist camp are:

1. To ~~resolve~~ resolve the contradiction between its internal and its foreign policy;
2. To consolidate capitalism;

CONFIDENTIAL

-4-

-5-

3. To liquidate socialism and democracy;
4. To enslave the peoples of the world;
5. To modify [REDACTED] the balance of power on the world scene to its own advantage.

Besides the US, the following countries belong to the imperialist camp: Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, ^{the Netherlands} [REDACTED], such fascist countries as Spain, Portugal, Turkey, and all the countries of the Near East and of Latin America.

[REDACTED] Facing the imperialist ^{camp} is the democratic. Its leader is the USSR, and around it are united all the forces struggling for peace and for democracy and socialism.

The following are the objectives of the democratic camp:

1. To guarantee a lasting peace;
2. To eradicate Fascism;
3. To insure [REDACTED] democracy and the independence of nations.

Participating in the democratic camp are the people's democracies of Europe, those of China and Mongolia, [REDACTED] the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Vietnam, and the peoples of Asia who are [REDACTED] engaged in actual armed struggle against the imperialists (Indonesia, [REDACTED] Malaya, etc.)

CHAPTER II -- US IMPERIALISM, THE WORST ENEMY OF PEACE, LIBERTY, AND INDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS

a. US imperialism is struggling for world domination

In participating in World War II, the US imperialists had as their objective new pillage in still more countries, the seizure of new markets, and the gaining of [REDACTED] greater profits as the suppliers of war materiel.

In the last 5 years before World War II, Americans made \$17.5 billion of profits; during the 6 war years they made 53 billion. This shows why the Yankees interfere in the internal struggles of dependent nations.

The Yankee monopolies hoped to maintain high production, [REDACTED] and as a result, their [REDACTED] fabulous profits, after the war; but what really happened after the war was a drop in production, and the spectre of depression reappeared over the US.

-6-

To avoid a depression, the famous "Marshall Plan" was dreamed up. Dressed up as "aid" to the countries victimized by the war, ~~it~~ it actually signified the economic and political ~~subjugation~~ subjugation of these countries ^{by} the US monopolies and capitalists.

(The dollars were used for purchasing machinery for the manufacture of armaments; these machines were purchased in the US.) (One third of the wages of the US worker are withheld by the government as taxes to intensify the arms race.)

One of the results of the Marshall Plan was the creation of the ~~aggressive~~ ^g bloc known as the North Atlantic Pact. This was directed solely against the USSR and the democratic Republics, the people's democracies, and the countries which were then fighting for liberation.

The North Atlantic Pact is the same sort of thing as the Marshall Plan: all the countries belonging to it are exploited by the US.

b. The Cold-War Policy

The cold war is the basis of the political line in the international field. It consists of a set of measures taken by the US billionaires to create artificially a state of international tension, by which the imperialists justify their arms race and their fabulous profits.

The cold-war policy consists of:

1. Crude interference in the internal affairs of other countries, systematic provocation in other free sovereign states, sabotage against legitimate governments, etc. The official policy of the US government is cold war.

2. All the activity of the US government in the field of foreign policy aims at promoting the cold war.

3. Cultural relations between the US and other countries are aimed at ~~producing~~ producing cold war.

4. The cold-war policy leads more and more to the replacement of normal diplomatic relations by a policy of imposition ^{and} by the disorganization of international economic relations, and leads to strain in the relations among nations.

c. Right-Wing Socialists, Agents of the Imperialists

In the capitalist countries, the right wings of the socialist parties have

-6-

-7-

become
 obviously, [redacted] agents of US imperialism. The right-wing
 socialists *have progressed beyond* [redacted] beyond
 the work they did previously in their own countries, [redacted]
 being informers and *traitors* [redacted] to the category of traitors
 to their country. For example, the British Labor Party and the French Socialist
 Party are parties of national treason, since they are connected directly with
 the US imperialists.

d. *flicts Within*
Sharpening of the Conflict Within the Camp of Imperialism

The US policy of preparing for and unleashing a new war is sharpening all
 the *flicts* [redacted] of imperialism. These *flicts* [redacted] are leading to a fur-
 ther weakening of the imperialist and antidemocratic camp and to the constant
 strengthening of the democratic camp.

The *flicts* [redacted] among the imperialist powers are being sharpened through
 the struggles for markets, for investment of capital, for sources of raw materials,
 etc.

The US imperialists drive their partners from the partners' own colonies,
 and subjugate countries which until then were free.

For example: England was driven from IRAN by the Americans;

France was driven from Vietnam by American imperialism;

Discussion of the Moroccan situation in the UN was imposed
 by the US.

Also, the internal *flicts* [redacted] within capitalist countries between the
 bourgeoisie and the masses are [redacted] becoming more acute.

The militarization of the economy at the expense of civilian production is
 bringing serious problems for the working class and the people. In 1950, yes,
 1950, there were 45 million totally or partially unemployed in the capital-
 ist countries. In the US about one third of a worker's wages *go* [redacted] to pay taxes,
have gone [redacted] *are* [redacted]
 prices *up* and wages *down*, small farmers and tradesmen *being*
 ruined, and only a handful of monopolies are growing richer.

The democratic rights of the workers are restricted or abrogated, as, for
 example, by the Taft-Hartley anti-strike law, in the United States, and by
 electoral reforms in France which prevent the election of [redacted] deputies
who [redacted] are authentic representatives of the working class.

CONFIDENTIAL
 -7-

-8-

However, the working class does not remain indifferent to this policy. The workers are struggling actively for their democratic rights and for their vital interests, which are indissolubly linked with the struggle for peace and for national independence and against the policy of aggression of US imperialism and against the unleashing of a new war. Examples of these struggles are the great strikes ⁱⁿ the following countries:

US - steel strike - loss of 20 million dollars;

France, England, and even Franco's Fascist Spain had great strikes which caused incalculable losses.

The prestige and influence of the Communist parties are increasing as a result of these conflicts.

e. ^{Signs} ~~Specific~~ Signs and Peculiarities Which Mark the Current International Situation

The following are the specific ^{signs} ~~signs~~ and peculiarities of the ~~current~~ current international situation, according to Malenkov's speech to the XIXth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party:

1. The principal aggressive power is the US, which is pushing the other capitalist countries toward war, especially the countries of the Atlantic Pact and the countries which were defeated in World War II (Germany, Italy, and Japan);

2. The governmental circles of the US are in the habit of speaking of the creation of a "community of free nations" which are struggling in defense of democracy. But the ~~freedom~~ ^{freedom} which exists in these countries is the freedom to exploit the masses. It is in the name of this freedom that the US is enslaving and plundering the other nations, including its own allies;

3. Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, etc., free capitalist countries, are renouncing their own national policies in order to follow the policy dictated by the US millionaires. They are permitting the establishment of military bases on their own territory; for example, Livorno (Leghorn) in Italy is a US port. This is a blow to the national interests and to the sovereignty of these countries.

~~France~~ France is supporting the revival of German militarism, its irrecon-

- 8 -

-9-

cilable enemy (France has already [REDACTED] been the victim of 3 German invasions: in 1870, in [REDACTED] 1914, and in 1940.)

Britain, a lesser ally of the US, is watching her empire crumble, as the result of the penetration of US imperialism.

CHAPTER III — THE USSR, THE CHIEF DIRECTING FORCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC CAMP

a. The basic line of Soviet foreign policy

The basic line of the USSR is the defense of peace and the security of nations. This line arises from the very nature of the socialist [REDACTED] system.

In Soviet society there are no social forces which have anything to gain from war. The classes which make up Soviet society are vitally interested in peace in order to develop Communism. The policy of peace of the USSR is nothing new; it began on the first day of Soviet power, when Lenin signed the decree removing the country from the battlefield and ^{proposing that} [REDACTED] everyone [REDACTED] end [REDACTED] hostilities (state of war).

In the words of Stalin, "The task is not only to win the war, but also [REDACTED] to make a new war impossible; if not forever, at least for a long [REDACTED] time."

b. The Soviet Program For a Lasting Democratic Peace

During World War II, Stalin laid out the program of the USSR for the organization of the postwar world. This program was as follows:

1. To liberate the peoples of Europe from the yoke of the Fascist aggressors;
2. To help these peoples to become free and independent again;
3. To grant these peoples full rights and the freedom to solve the problems of their [REDACTED] governmental organization for themselves;
4. To punish severely all the Fascist invaders who were [REDACTED] responsible for the war;
5. To establish an order in Europe which completely excludes any possibility ^{that Germany may start a new war;} [REDACTED];
6. To create long-term economic, [REDACTED] political, and cultural cooperation [REDACTED] among the peoples of Europe, based on confidence and mutual aid toward the restoration of the economy and the culture which were destroyed by the Germans.

-9-

-10-

The specific measures taken by the USSR to prevent a third war were as follows:

1. Reduction of its armaments and armed forces (^{a reduction of} ~~██████████~~ 600,000 soldiers);
2. Reduction of its armed forces and withdrawal ~~██████████~~ from foreign territory of soldiers who had entered it for reasons of war;
3. Allocation of a small percentage of its budget for armaments;
4. Promulgation of a law punishing war propaganda;
5. Seeking all possible means for avoiding a third world war.

The USSR is struggling for peace and against war even among the imperialist countries, because such a war would involve the USSR. It is therefore necessary to strive to prevent any war among nations and to achieve the peaceful settlement of all ~~██████~~ existing problems and disputes.

c. Soviet Policy in Relation to the Countries Defeated in World War II -- Attitude Toward Germany and Japan

The USSR, faithful to its peace policy, is maintaining a clearly defined position as regards the other countries. During the war the USSR concluded mutual-assistance agreements with Britain and France, but the British and French governments violated these agreements, and consequently their relations with the USSR are not good, "leave much to be desired". The USSR is ready to cooperate with them on the basis of fulfillment of the agreements.

The USSR has done everything possible to improve relations with these countries on the basis of the existing agreements.

As regards the conquered countries: For the first time in the history of war, the conquered have had a new sort of treatment. The presence of a socialist state among the victorious powers of World War II created an unprecedented situation and opportunity for the conquered: they were able to get fair treatment. The USSR has no desire for the plunder, rapine, or enslavement of other peoples. Its position is well defined, as follows:

1. To protect the peaceful and democratic development of ~~██████~~ the USSR;
2. To develop nonmilitary industry and agriculture;

CONFIDENTIAL

-11-

3. To guarantee the export of products of these countries to foreign markets;

4. To guarantee to these countries the right to build up ^{the} armed forces ^{which} are essential to their defense.

The attitude of the USSR toward the conquered countries is entirely different from that of the US.

As regards Germany, the USSR firmly defends the principles established in the Potsdam and Yalta agreements, whereby Germany is ^{to be} converted into a unified ~~state~~ state, peaceful, but independent and democratic.

As regards Japan, Soviet policy is determined by the interests of the universal peace and security of nations. This policy demands that the resolutions of the Potsdam agreement be applied to Japan, i.e. that Japan be demilitarized and democratized. In conformity with the Potsdam provisions and with Soviet policy, the USSR has protested against the freeing of war criminals, has condemned the resurgence of Japanese militarism, and has refused to sign the San Francisco agreement imposed on Japan by the US, because it was a separate peace treaty which violated international agreements and was not subscribed to by all the countries which had fought against Japan (China, India, and Indonesia).

All US policy toward Japan envisages the transformation of Japan into a military base, against the interests of ^{all people.} the ~~Japanese people~~.

d. The USSR Defends the Independence of Nations
makes

Unlike the US, which ~~seeks~~ ^{for the} serves of the countries with which it signs agreements, the USSR is following a policy of respect ^{for the} independence of nations, of ~~equal~~ equal rights, and of mutual aid, whether great or small. For example, the agreement with China, in which the USSR lent \$300 million US to China, to be repaid in easy payments; and the gift to the Korean people of \$250 million US for the reconstruction of their country.

e. The USSR and the UN

At the end of World War II, the victorious nations created the UN, in which the majority of the nations of the world participated. Its purpose was to give concrete form to the hopes of the nations of securing a firm and lasting ^{its} peace. If ~~its~~ principles had been carried out, its objectives would have

-12-

been attained. The operation of the UN was based on a charter, [REDACTED] in the composition of which Molotov participated. The basic principle of the charter is the principle of unity among the great powers. The UN is made up of two principal bodies:

The GENERAL ASSEMBLY consists of representatives of the member nations.

The SECURITY COUNCIL consists of 11 members, 5 of whom are permanent (the Big Five) and 6 are rotating, being elected for 2-year terms by the General Assembly.

The General Assembly [REDACTED] merely makes recommendations. Resolutions are the exclusive prerogative of the Security Council. [REDACTED] For a resolution to be [REDACTED], it must receive 7 votes, provided that all 5 permanent members vote in favor of it.

f. The USSR Defends [REDACTED] Peaceful Coexistence Between the Countries of the Capitalist System and Those of the Socialist System

In carrying out its foreign policy, the USSR proceeds on the principle that peaceful coexistence is possible among countries of different systems. is not afraid of

The USSR [REDACTED] peaceful competition, because the socialist system is superior to the capitalist. The USSR does not propose to impose its ideology or its policy by force. It understands clearly that every day won for peace [REDACTED] promotes the social and economic development of the Soviet people; it is a step toward the strengthening of the camp of peace and indicates a major aggravation of the conflict among the imperialists. The policy of peaceful relations with all nations, the policy of relieving international tension, can bring about deep-seated changes in the imperialist camp; the imperialist bloc may fall apart, and imperialism may be liquidated without war. In this policy there exists truly a prospect of peace; it is truly worth while to fight for it. Fighting for peace is not a tactic, is not a diplomatic maneuver; it is the very essence of the USSR and of its policy.

g. Task of the Soviet Communist Party in the Field of Foreign Policy

The Soviet Communist Party directs the foreign policy of the USSR. This policy was outlined by Malenkov at the XIXth Congress. He stated:

"The tasks of the Party in the field of foreign policy are as follows:

-12-

-13-

"1. To continue to struggle against the preparation for and unleashing of a new war; to consolidate peace, to reinforce the ranks of the powerful democratic front against war; to tighten the bonds of friendship and solidarity with the partisans of peace throughout the world; to persist in denouncing all preparations for a new war, all the blows dealt, and all the plots of the instigators of war;

"2. To continue to follow in ^{the} future a policy of international cooperation and development of trade relations with all countries;

"3. To tighten and to develop indissoluble relations of friendship with the People's Republic of China; ~~with~~ with the European countries of people's democracy: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, the German Democratic Republic; and with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of Mongolia;

"4. To consolidate constantly the defensive power of the Soviet Union and to increase our ability to make a formidable reply to any aggressor."

QUESTIONS

1. What are the two camps?
2. What ~~was~~ ^{were} the results of World War II for world capitalism?
3. What were the objectives of the British and American imperialists in participating in World War II?
4. What is the Marshall Plan? What is the North Atlantic Pact?
5. What is the cold-war policy?
6. What was the role of the right-wing socialists after World War II?
7. What are the specific ~~signs~~ ^{signs} and peculiarities which ~~mark~~ ^{mark} the current international situation?
8. Prove with specific facts that the USSR is following a policy of peace.
9. What is the attitude of the USSR toward Germany and Japan?

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4. The right-wing social-democrats are directly responsible for the policy of renunciation of national interests. The British Labor Party, the French Socialist

-13-

-14-

Party, the German Social-Democratic Party all support the policy of destroying their respective countries;

5. One of the peculiarities of the strategy of US imperialism is the fact that the military leaders of the US base their plans for aggression on the use of foreign territory and troops, especially those of Germany and Japan, as well as on those of Britain, France, and Italy;

6. The US imperialists are trying to present their cold-war policy as an offensive [sic] peace policy, trying to hide their aggressive plans with pompous declarations of peace. "The Atlantic wolf in a lambskin," said Malenkov.

7. In order to ~~start~~ start a war, the US imperialists are ⁱⁿ planting a brutal Fascist regime in the US and in the countries where the democratic forces are strongest (France, Italy, and Japan).

8. All this confirms the weakness of imperialism and brings about a violent intensification of conflict within the imperialist camp, ^{and} between the democratic forces and the forces of the Fascist camp;

9. An unparalleled peace movement has arisen before the threat of war, a movement which consists of a coalition of different ~~classes~~ classes and strata of society against war, with the purpose of preserving peace for a definite period;

10. A relaxation of international tension has been achieved, as the result of peace in Korea ^{and of} the Geneva conference, from which has arisen the Spirit of Geneva.

-14-

25X1

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The Bourgeoisie in the First Stage of the Revolution

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- I. The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution will not touch the bases of capitalism.
- II. Objective and subjective possibilities to win the support of the national bourgeoisie.
- III. Relations between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie in the united revolutionary front.
- IV. Failure to understand our position regarding the national bourgeoisie.
- V. Conditions for the non-capitalist development of the democratic-popular regime.
- VI. Conclusions.

I. In the report to the Fourth Congress made by comrade Arruda, there is formulated the Third new and essential element contained in the Party Program. This element is the following: "The Program does not take up the struggle for the confiscation or nationalization of the banks, companies, and capital of the great Brazilian bourgeoisie; it guarantees liberty of initiative to industries and internal commerce, and defense of national industry. It establishes that only the capital and companies of the great capitalists who betray the national interests and who ally themselves with North American imperialists will be confiscated."

This element expresses the position of the Party regarding the bourgeoisie in the first stage of the revolution.

That position results:

1. from the very nature of the Brazilian revolution in the first stage-- democratic-popular, of an anti-feudal and anti-imperial agrarian nature. It will effect radical democratic transformations. This is said regarding the ~~the~~ tasks that are ready for free development in the Brazilian society, the semi-colonial and semi-feudal relations.

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The theoretical base on which the Party leans to arrive at these new elements is the clear difference that exists between the revolutions in the colonial and dependent countries and the revolutions in the imperialist countries that are already developed. Stalin formulated this theoretic base in a clear manner during a discussion on the Chinese revolution in 1927 (See "Regarding the National and Colonial Problem" -- Stalin -- p. 300).

The Brazilian bourgeoisie is subjected to a process of differentiation, which divides it into two very distinct groups; one of these groups, says Prestes: "is formed by the great capitalists who are closely linked with the landowners and who serve directly the interests of one or another group of foreign monopolists, particularly the North American ones." (This group, although powerful, constitutes an insignificant minority numerically speaking.) "The second group is comprised of the remainder of the Brazilian bourgeoisie, rightly designated by the Program as national bourgeoisie, and which principally reflects the interests of the national industry."

The national bourgeoisie contends with the monopolies for the attainment of greater facilities: foreign commerce, raw materials, credit, etc.

Our position regarding each of these groups into which the Brazilian bourgeoisie is divided is defined in the Party Program. We seek to attract the national bourgeoisie to the revolutionary camp, to the FDLN. Regarding the great capitalists who are connected with foreign monopolies, we give them an alternative: if they are not disloyal and if they do not collaborate with the North American imperialists, their capital and their companies will be respected; if they are disloyal, if they ally themselves with the North American imperialists, they will be taken to the people's courts and their capital and their companies will be confiscated. This just orientation aims at weakening, separating, and breaking the bloc of great Brazilian capitalists connected with North American imperialism. This will permit us to neutralize certain elements of the great Brazilian bourgeoisie or even to have them temporarily as allies. Our position toward the national bourgeoisie is based on the teaching of Stalin, according to which

in colonial and dependent countries, the bourgeoisie, because they are also oppressed by imperialism, can aid the revolution during a definite stage or for a certain period. (See statement of Stalin--Regarding the National and Colonial Problem--p. 281).

II. What are the objective factors that enable the winning of the national bourgeoisie as our ally in the revolution? These factors are the following:

1. The semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of the Brazilian economy which is reflected in the situation of backwardness and oppression of all the Brazilian people, including the national bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie has a series of difficulties: it does not have credit; the internal market fails them, because of the miserable situation of our people; they cannot trade with all nations, because the imperialists control our foreign commerce.

2. The law of the compulsory correspondence between the production relations and the nature of the productive forces which demands the elimination of the semi-feudal production relations.

The fact that this law does not demand a socialist transformation, does not demand that the revolution touch the bases of capitalism.

3. The action of the fundamental economic law of contemporary capitalism which transforms Brazil into a source of maximum profits for the North American imperialist monopolies, ruining the Brazilian people and threatening the national bourgeoisie with failure.

The national bourgeoisie merely acquires profits on the basis of the medium rate of profits. The maximum profits are withdrawn only by the imperialists.

4. The fundamental tasks of the revolution in its first stage do not aim at attacking the bases of capitalism, but exclusively toward the elimination of the North American imperialist yoke, the liquidation of large landed estates and feudal vestiges, and the building of a democratic-popular state.

The fact that these are not socialist tasks makes it objectively possible for the Brazilian bourgeoisie to participate in the revolution.

5. The process of differentiation that is seen in the Brazilian bourgeoisie, placing into more and more open opposition the great capitalists linked with imperialism and the national bourgeoisie.

There is competition for profits, for foreign markets, etc.

6. The existence of the socialist world market which offers the broadest perspectives of commercial exchange and of aid to the countries struggling for their independent national development.

The advantageous offers made by the Soviet Union to the national bourgeoisie for the exchange of products, etc. We see that there develops and expands the movement among the national bourgeoisie for the attainment of this market.

The bourgeoisie suffers from the competition of the products imported from the US.

The subjective factors that make possible the utilization of the objective factors and the effective conquest of the national bourgeoisie for the revolutionary camp are the following:

1. The concrete demands of the national bourgeoisie.
2. The broad united front policy followed by the Party of the working class.
3. The just utilization of the class struggle to ^{put pressure on} the national bourgeoisie.
4. The utilization of the contradictions within the dominant class itself, contradictions that bring about clashes between the national bourgeoisie and the great capitalists connected with North American imperialism.
5. The worker-peasant alliance under the direction of the proletariat, the foundation of the FDLN.
6. The existence of a strong and powerful Communist Party.

The Party Program reflects concretely the demands of the national bourgeoisie. It assures liberty of initiative for industry and internal commerce; it safeguards the interests of the nation and the welfare of the people. It

CONFIDENTIAL
4

facilitates the acquisition of equipment and raw materials; the free development of industry of peace; the defense of the national industry; the prohibition on the import of articles that compete with national products; the regulation of foreign commerce in defense of national industry; the reform of the tax system; measures against inflation; the stability of the currency; the abolishment of unjust taxes and duties; the possibility of collaborating with the popular democratic states in undertakings of an economic nature, and with the profits and interests of private capital guaranteed; special aid and protection to the artisans and to the small and medium producers.

For that reason, comrade Prestes says: "The objections that may be raised concerning the possibility of effectively winning the national bourgeoisie to the camp of the revolutionary forces signify an ignorance of the Brazilian reality and of the correlation of classes in the nation under present conditions.

"Confronted with the alternative of betraying the national interests or participating in the revolution, thereby achieving their most longed-for demands, the national bourgeoisie cannot fail to follow the course of revolution, while the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement advances, and the worker-peasant alliance is strengthened."

III. The proletariat must ally itself with the national bourgeoisie within the FDLN. This does not signify, however, the disappearance of the contradictions between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie within the united revolutionary front.

The proletariat and the national bourgeoisie have conflicting interests which do not disappear from the fact of their union against the common enemy. The proletariat cannot stop fighting for its most immediate interests, for better living conditions, and in this regard, it inevitably clashes with the national bourgeoisie. The proletariat must defend, in any circumstance, the right to organize in an independent way in its class Party and in labor unions, and to freely carry out the propaganda of its ultimate objectives, namely, the

achievement of a socialist society. The proletariat must always oppose the attempts of the national bourgeoisie to reduce it to conditions of a secondary force, it must fight intransigently to gain the role of the hegemonic force of the revolution, not permitting the national bourgeoisie to dislodge it from this role.

However, it is necessary to bear in mind that the contradiction between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie within the united revolutionary front has a definite limit. This contradiction cannot be resolved in the first stage of the revolution. In spite of the clashes that occur within the united revolutionary front, the proletariat always will strive to assure the alliance with the national bourgeoisie, with, however, the hegemonic role of the proletariat inflexibly guaranteed. In this sense, to assure the hegemonic role of the proletariat and also the alliance with the national bourgeoisie, the fundamental condition is the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance. (Mao Tse Tung—"The tactics of struggle against the Japanese empire"—Problems 60).

IV. In our ranks, misunderstandings have revealed themselves concerning our position with respect to the national bourgeoisie.

Some of the principal misunderstandings are the following:

1. Some comrades believe that in the democratic-popular regime the uncontrolled development of capitalism will be stimulated, and therefore, that there will be an uncontrolled flourishing of capitalism. This is false. Without doubt, there will be a certain development of capitalism; but it will be controlled and limited in accordance with the interests of the popular masses and with the progress of the nation toward socialism. The democratic-popular state will be able to control and limit the development of capitalism because it will have sufficient economic and political strength. The democratic-popular state will have a powerful economic base in the state sector of the economy, of a socialist nature, supported on the capitalism sector of the state. At its head, the democratic-popular state will have a Communist Party that gains more and more prestige among the masses, the vanguard of a working class whose strength will

constantly increase, based on the worker-peasant alliance that is strengthened continually.

In this regard, comrade Arruda states: "...the democratic-popular state will have an economic base...which the bourgeoisie will be compelled to respect."

2. Some comrades affirm that the democratic-popular state could deliver to the national bourgeoisie the companies confiscated from the North Americans of from the great disloyal capitalists. Interpreting the Program in this manner is going too far, committing a right^{est} deviation, recognizing the revolution as a bourgeois revolution and not as a democratic-popular revolution under the direction of the proletariat. The confiscated companies will belong to the state and will form part of the state economic sector of a socialist nature. Under certain conditions, in accordance with the development of the national economy, the democratic-popular state will be able to utilize this or that confiscated company to organize companies in collaboration with the national bourgeoisie.

3. Some comrades believe that in order to gain the national bourgeoisie the class struggle must be lessened. Comrade Arruda states: ^(p.129) "The error stems from two main reasons...of its specific interests."

Therefore, comrade Arruda says (p. 129): "To unite with the national bourgeoisie...^{and} the national liberating struggle."

4. Some comrades affirm that it is impossible to win the national bourgeoisie, because they are vacillating and cowardly. The truth is, however, that the objective conditions place before the national bourgeoisie the necessity to choose between failure and being crushed by North American imperialism, and the road to national independence and revolution. Therefore, if we act in a just manner, we can attract the national bourgeoisie to the revolution. Comrade Prestes says: "The Party program that contains progressive claims of the national bourgeoisie and demands punishment for the traitors who ally themselves with North American imperialism, and the practical activity of the Communists in the fight for the interests of the people and of the nation, create the conditions that will

facilitate the passage of the national bourgeoisie to the side of the movement for national liberation."

5. Some comrades believe that it is not worth while to waste time with an ally so vacillating and cowardly as the national bourgeoisie. These comrades place themselves in an idealist, petty bourgeoisie position. Undoubtedly, the fundamental ~~allies~~ allies of the proletariat are the peasants; and its firm allies are the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals. As revolutionaries, however, we cannot despise the slightest possibility of gaining an ally, however vacillating and unsteady he may be. Hence, we must do everything to bring the national bourgeoisie to the revolutionary camp. On the other hand, we must not underestimate the national bourgeoisie, which still has influence in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, among the peasants, and even in the working class. Precisely, in order to liberate this part of the masses from the influence of the national bourgeoisie, we must ally ourselves with the national bourgeoisie.

These are the principal misunderstandings that are manifested in the Party with regard to the bourgeoisie.

V. The democratic-popular regime will have a non-capitalist development. It will be a regime of transition toward ~~socialism~~ socialism. It will have the following sectors or economic formations:

1. A state sector of a socialist nature.
2. A cooperative sector of a socialist nature.
3. A sector of state capitalism.
4. A sector of private capitalism.
5. Small business economy.
6. A communal-patriarchal sector.

(see development of this in previous class)

The economic and political factors that determine the non-capitalist development of the democratic-popular regime are, in synthesis, the following:

1. The political strengthening of the working class and of its Communist Party.
2. The existence and strengthening of the democratic-popular state, based on the worker-peasant alliance.
3. The strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance.
4. The development of the socialist sector in the national economy.
5. The development of the cooperative economy in the city and in rural areas.
6. The support of the socialist camp, especially of the USSR, which will be of a decisive nature for the entire evolution of the democratic-popular regime.

VI. The August manifesto took a sectarian position with regard to the national bourgeoisie; it did not consider [REDACTED] the possibility of winning the national bourgeoisie to the revolutionary camp and, presenting transformations of a socialist nature, it practically placed the national bourgeoisie in the camp of the enemy. The Party Program corrects this error, taking a just position regarding the national bourgeoisie. In this manner, bearing in mind the democratic nature of the first stage of the revolution, we enlarge our battle front and narrow the field of the enemy.

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25X1

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THE THREE SOURCES AND THE THREE COMPONENT PARTS OF MARXISM

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Chapter 1

The three component parts of Marxism are: philosophy, that is, dialectic materialism; political economy; and scientific socialism. Marxism, according to Stalin in his work "Marxism and Linguistics," is the science of the laws of the development of nature and of society, science of the revolution of the oppressed and exploited masses, science of the victory of socialism in all countries, science of the construction of Communist society. (Prob. 35, p 55).

Marxism gives us a picture of the unity between theory and practice, permitting us to study and interpret nature and society and how also to transform them.

The rise of Marxism was not unconnected with human understanding but as an answer to the questions that the vanguard of the workers movement had set forth and had not found solutions. With the development of capitalism there also developed the worker class and the world workers movement as well as the philosophy of the natural sciences.

Marxism arose as the ^{direct} expression of the proletariat -- the most revolutionary class of capitalist society and of the history of humanity. Arising, developing, and leading, Marxism answered the questions to which the vanguard had not yet found solutions and represented the theoretic expression of the worker movement. At times, Marxism has been presented as a normal development, one step more in the development of human thought since it had given a change in quality. That position was combatted by the Central Committee of the CPSU, particularly by the intervention of Zhdanov, during the discussion on the book of Aleksandrov on the history of philosophy, in which Marxism grew as if it were not a true

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revolution of human thinking. On the other hand, Marxism did not grow from nothing, but from the best that humanity had produced up to then.

Like every new theory, Engels teaches, Marxism had to start with ideological material accumulated up to its appearance. Despite that, finally, in the discussions preparatory to the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Aleksandrov and his group were criticized for having taken a false stand which denied all connections with the past.

The rise of Marxism, representing an unprecedented revolutionary transformation in the history of human thinking, gave to the workers movement a theory which is applicable not only in the past but also in the present and the future. Germany was the fatherland of Marxism because at the time of its appearance it [Germany] was the center of the world revolution. The French Revolution had been in 1789. In 1748 /sic: 1848?/, the revolutionary movement had come to light on a wide scale in Germany; a large-scale bourgeois revolution was effected in Germany under the most progressive conditions. With the experiences of the French and English revolutions, with a proletariat, through its most advanced elements, convinced that the bourgeoisie is revolutionary only until the seizing of power, and afterwards becomes counterrevolutionary. That meant that the revolution would have to continue. This was the opinion of the advanced elements of the worker movement. Marx and Engels said that in the first periods of the bourgeois revolution the proletariat fought against the enemies of its enemies, but that in Germany the proletariat was already a more independent force and with its own science. Therefore, the German proletariat exalted its ideologists -- Marx and Engels. Lenin, in his "The Three Sources and the Three ^{Component} ~~Integral~~ Parts of Marxism," indicates the three following sources of Marxism: classic German

philosophy, classic English economy, and French utopian socialism.

At the same time, Lenin indicates the three component parts of Marxism: dialectic and historic materialism, Marxist political economy, and scientific socialism (Lenin, Selected Works, pp 65-70).

It is necessary, however, to distinguish between the sources and the component parts of Marxism.

Chapter 2

The first source of Marxism is classic German philosophy, personified in Hegel and Feuerbach. In Hegel we have a dialectic but not materialist philosophy. In Feuerbach we have a materialist but not dialectic philosophy.

Initially, Marx and Engels were followers of Hegel. But little by little...[two lines illegible]

Appreciating the idealistic part of the philosophy of Hegel, they took his rational main point; that is, the law of the contradictions. The philosophy of Hegel was a system in which there much irrational; where for example there is defended the idea that before the existence of the world there was an "absolute idea," a "god" who had been transformed into the world. What is rational in his thought is the idea of contradictions as the basis of the development and of the transformations.

Lenin said that dialectics is the most important part of dialectic materialism, because it is the science of the most general laws of movement in nature, in society, and in thinking; a science in which everything is in constant movement and transformation due to internal contradictions. Marx and Engel could not accept the idealist philosophy of Hegel as it was, particularly because it looked ^{only} to the past and even presented this past in a false manner, as the self-development of the absolute idea.

Marxism, in its philosophy, as Lenin indicates, presents the question on "its historic base, not in the sense of clarifying only

the past, but in the sense of foreseeing the future and of daringly assimilating the practical activity, directing its consequence."

As for materialistic dialectics, the dialectics must correspond to the material world and not to the absolute idea because this would be to fall into idealism. For that reason it was necessary to rework all the philosophy of Hegel, giving it a materialistic base so that it might ^{be} transformed ~~into~~ an arena of scientific knowledge and prescience.

Materialistic dialectics is, consequently, the science of the most general laws of the development of nature, of society, and of thought.

Thought is nothing more than the reflex of nature and of society in the head of men. Therefore, Marxism distinguishes objective dialectics, which is that of real nature, from subjective dialectics, which is the reflex of the dialectics of nature in human thought. The true thinking of man is a quality of ~~XXXXXX~~ matter, a form of matter better organized than human thought.

Marx and Engels, in expanding the philosophy of the proletariat, took the essentials of matter from Hegel's philosophy and worked up dialectics distinct from, and opposed to the philosophy of Hegel. It is more a philosophy of the proletariat and at the same time it is materialistic.

Marx and Engels, studying the history of philosophy, concentrated especially on the materialism of Feuerbach. This German philosopher was initially a disciple of Hegel, but before Feuerbach long ~~XXXX~~ differed with his teacher. In one of his first works he affirmed that immortality did not exist and that after death nothing existed any longer. The Church rose against him and

he was expelled from the faculty. He went into the country and continued his works from there. In 1839 he wrote a gainst the philosophy of Hegel and then announced himself as a materialist. In 1841 he wrote the "Hisory of Christianity" in which he presented himself as materialist.

Marx and Engels abandoned Hegel and became followers of Feuerbach although not accepting him completely. A little later they reached the understanding that it was necessary to put the materialism of Feuerbach to critical examination. Marx and Engels took the fundamental points of Feuerbach's materialism; that is, the question of thought and of being and developed it as part of the philosophy of the proletariat.

What ^{was} ~~is~~ positive in the materialistic philosophy of Feuerbach?

First, there was the way he solved the fundamental question of philosophy. As is known, the fundamental question of philosophy is to determine which is first: the thought or the being, nature of the spirit. From the manner in which this question is answered, we establish ourselves as materialists or idealists.

Feuerbach said that nature had appeared first, independently of the conscience of man and that only later was born man, thought which reflects nature. This is the most important aspect of the materialism of Feuerbach. From this, he affirmed that the world could be known. Feuerbach said that we know nature through the reflex of nature in our brain by five senses. This question is in some ways derived from the first. It is a question widely discussed in philosophy. There are some philosophers who affirm that the world cannot be known. Aside from these positive aspects, there are many negative aspects in the materialism of Feuerbach. The first is that instead of using what is positive

in the philosophy of Hegel, he denounced the dialectics and became a metaphysicist, picturing the world as stationary and not in motion and transformation.

The second negative aspect of Feuerbach's philosophy is that he was a mechanical materialist who considered the multiple movement of the form of matter as mechanical movements. At this period, mechanics had been sufficiently developed and the materialists sought to apply the mechanical movement of matter to all forms of movement of matter. It is well known however that there are also forms of movement of matter and chemical, physical, social, and other movements. Each of these forms of movement has its own laws. From this, the mechanical materialists affirmed that, for example, the brain secretes the thought of man just as the liver secretes bile. This applies to the common thought because human thought works mysteriously and in a very complex manner.

The third defect of Feuerbach's materialism is that he was a materialist when he examined the phenomena of nature; but when he examined social phenomena, he took a dialectic stand. Thus, he affirmed that social life could be modified only through moral and religious ideas.

Marx and Engels, criticizing Feuerbach, said that to modify society and its way of thinking, it was first necessary to modify the ^(existing) relations of material life. For this reason, Marx and Engels took only the fundamental basis of Feuerbach's materialism after a careful critical examination. Studying and interpreting philosophical thinking in a critical manner, Marx and Engels created dialectic materialism through a revolution in philosophy. With dialectic materialism, we no longer have dialectics separated from materialism and materialism separated

from dialectics. What we have here is a new thing in philosophical thinking which is called dialectic materialism.

Marx said that with this, philosophy found its material weapon in the proletariat and that the proletariat found its spiritual weapon in philosophy. Discovering and utilizing this weapon, which expresses the actually the needs of the revolutionary proletariat for fighting, Marx and Engels studied and interpreted carefully nature and indicated the methods to transform it. Therefrom, and this is more important, they extended dialectic materialism to the study of the history of society. With this, Marx and Engels developed historic materialism as the science for the fight of the proletariat.

Thus, Marxist philosophy is made up of dialectic materialism historic materialism: dialectic materialism as the philosophy of the concept of the world of the party of the proletariat and historic materialism as its reaction to social reality.

It is necessary to understand that historic materialism is not a product of the imagination of Marx and Engels. What they did was to study, in a critical and revolutionary manner, in accord with the interests of the proletariat class, the phenomena of nature and society.

Dialectic and historic materialism reflect in human thinking the processes which develop in nature and in social life. For this reason it is a philosophy which is a true instrument for fighting, which arms the proletariat for the revolutionary transformation of society.

Until Marx, the philosophical systems were accessible to a very small number of select persons. The philosophy of Marx is that of an entire class: the masses. Zhdanov was right in saying that the Marxist philosophy is a scientific weapon in the hands of the proletariat masses who fight for their liberation from capitalism.

This was adopted by the Communists and spread to the masses by the Party to win them. The ideas of the Marxist philosophy is thus transformed into an invincible material force.

What is the importance of Marxist philosophy? It is:

1. It arms us with a scientific understanding of the nature of society.
2. It gives us the possibility ^{not only} to understand the phenomena which occur in nature and society but also permits us to transform nature and society.
3. As a new theory which arms the proletariat for the revolutionary transformation of society, it is a powerful instrument to fight against the old, retrograde, and obscurantist ideas set forth by the bourgeoisie to weaken the idea of mass struggles.
4. It is a powerful weapon for the Communist education of the members of the Party and of the workers. That is to say, for leading ideas toward Communism.

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Chapter 3

The second source of Marxisms is the classic English economy and the second component part of Marxism is the Marxist political economy.

The classic economy prior to Marx had its formation in England, the most advanced capitalist country. The classic political economy aimed only at conserving the bourgeois social relations and presenting the bourgeois economic system as a natural and lasting arrangement. Marx characterized Ricardo, for example, as "the classic representative of the bourgeois interests and the most persistent enemy of the proletariat."

The classic political economy was not in a position to reflect the social results of bourgeois production. Engels wrote: The social science of the bourgeoisie, the classic political science,

is concerned principally only with the social results of human actions, directed toward production and barter, the increase of which is always kept directly in mind. This corresponds totally to the social system of which it is the theoretic expression. Since the capitalists, isolated, are occupied with production and barter solely with the objective of profit, they can only pay attention first (at the most immediate and direct results.) Thus the classic political economy is an expression of the real interests of the bourgeoisie; but it cannot reveal the causes of all the phenomena which occur in the economic life of society. For example: from where does profit come; why does capital grow? This problem was not solved by classic political economy. It was solved only by Marx and Engels, by their examining in a critical manner classic political economy and by studying in a manner the economic life of society.

In this way, Marx and Engels were able to develop political economy as a true science. It is well known that Marxist political economy studies and explains the laws of social production and of the distribution of social goods in the various phases of the development of ^{human} society. However, Marxist political economy is the science of the social development of production; that is, the science of the ~~ECONOMIC~~ development of the economic relations between men. In performing that scientific study of the economic relations between men, Marx and Engels explained scientifically the laws which govern the production and the distribution of material goods in human society.

The importance of Marxist political economy is that it explains how the development of human society is proved, starting with the lower grades of production and going to the higher; how the social systems based on the exploitation of man by man are born, develop,

and disappear. Through this is revealed how the whole course of historic development prepares for the victory of the socialist method of production. For example, Marx in "The Capital," studying capitalist society, pointed out the laws of the birth, development, and fall of capitalism, giving thus the economic foundation of the inevitability of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marxist political economy was greatly enriched by Lenin with the generalization of the historic development of capitalism, particularly in its imperialist phase. With that, he discovered new economic laws, such as the law of the unequal development of capital in the period of imperialism.

The discoveries of Lenin permitted him to elaborate a new theory and, when the social revolution has been achieved, the basic problems for the construction of socialism and Communism, etc. Stalin in his works continued the development greatly of his views of Marxist political economy.

Marxist political economy is a powerful ideological weapon in the hands of the proletariat and all laboring humanity in its struggle against capitalist exploitation.

The manual of Political Economy of the USSR: "The vital force of Marx-Leninism lies in the fact that it arms the working class and all the laboring classes with the knowledge of the laws of the economic development of society, giving them a clear perspective and confidence in the victory of Communism.

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Chapter IV

The third source of Marxism was the utopian socialism, particularly the French. The third component part of Marxism is scientific socialism.

The representatives of French utopian socialism were

principally Saint Simon, Fourier, and Robert Owen /sic, Owen/.

What is the importance of utopian socialism? What is its contribution to the elaborating of scientific socialism? The utopian socialists, who criticized the capitalist regime in a clever manner, dreamed of a social order in which equality among men would exist. The utopian socialists analyzed the existing misery and exploitation in capitalist society...../illegible/ inspite of capitalism. After feudalism had been overthrown, in this society called free exploitation and oppression continued. The utopian socialists, dreaming of a free world, preached that men were to be free in a society where work would be free. But their ideas could not be realized. Why? Because they were utopians; that is to say, their ideas were based on the imagination and not on the laws of the development of society and on social classes capable of transforming society.

In his "Two Utopias," Lenin says that a utopia is a desire of such a type that it can be achieved in no way, at present or in the future, because it is not based on social forces and is not ~~XX~~ built by thought or by the development of the political forces -- of the class forces. If the utopian socialists spoke of a future socialism where all forces are equal and where the exploitation and oppression of capitalist society did not exist, they were not capable of indicating the social force which has the historic mission of transforming capitalist society into socialist society.

When Marx and Engels examined critically utopian socialism, they revealed all its greatest deficiencies. When Marx and Engels elaborated scientific socialism, they did not invent scientific socialism but discovered it as a necessity, an objective law, of the historic development. In this respect, Marx and Engels say, in the Communist Manifesto: "The ^(theoretic) assertions of the Communists

were not based, in any way, on invented ideas or principles nor discoveries for this or that world reformer. They are the expression, in general terms, of the true conditions of an actual class struggle, of a historic movement which is unfolding before our eyes! For these reasons, Marxist socialism is called scientific socialism.

Essentially, scientific socialism is the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. This the fundamental question of Marxism and not, as might be supposed, the theory of the class struggle. It is well known that the theory of the class struggle was pointed out before Marxism by the French bourgeois sociologists. The merit of Marx lies in the fact that he developed the theory of the class struggle, in dictating that the class struggle is the ~~main~~ ^{the} motive force in history, ~~and~~ that it leads inevitably and naturally to the dictatorship of the proletariat, that it is the way to transform revolutionarily capitalist society and to build socialist society. Consequently, Lenin says in his "The State and the Revolution" that to be a marxist it is not sufficient to admit the class struggle because any bourgeois ideology can admit this. To be a marxist it is necessary to extend the class struggle to the conquest of political power and to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin says, textually: "Whoever only admits the class struggle is still not a marxist, because even this can be supported within the limits of the bourgeois point of bourgeois politics. To limit marxism to the class struggle is to emasculate marxism and to reduce it to something that the bourgeoisie can accept. Only he is marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is where there is the greatest difference or large between a marxist and a petty bourgeois. This is the touchstone true for the understanding and recognition of marxism."

As is well known, the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to build a classless socialist society. When this task will have been completed, the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the state itself will disappear. The state did not always exist; it appeared when society was divided into classes. The state will disappear in the historic future, in a classless society, when it will no longer be needed.

What is the importance of scientific socialism?

1. Up until the time of Marx, the workers movement and socialism were marching separated. The utopian socialists wrote books, invented ideas, etc., but already at this period, in the most developed countries of Europe, the workers movement was beginning and was developing. The merit of Marx and Engels rests in the fact that they united organically socialism and the workers movement and, contrary to utopian socialism, they caused showed that socialism is not ~~born~~ by the good will of men but is a necessity and an inevitability resulting from the objective laws of the development of capitalist society and of the class struggle.

and historic
2. Indissolubly connected with dialectic materialism, it is the theoretic foundation of Communism. The theory of scientific socialism is constantly enriched by the new experiences of the revolutionary workers movement. Stalin says that the the experience of the workers movement of all countries taken in its general aspect. The greatest enrichment of scientific socialism has been by the most learned and combatative Party in the world: the CPSU. The Communist Party of China and the Communist and Workers Parties of the People's Democracies, by their documentation which has generalized the process of the development

of the revolution in their countries, have enriched scientific socialism. Likewise, the development of the postwar plans of the Communist Parties have enriched our theory and for this reasons are considered as created from Marx' work.

3. The importance of scientific socialism lies in the fact that its ideas were transformed, in the present historic stage, into a powerful material force which[one word illegible] the struggle for socialism in the entire world. This struggle is in different degrees of development, but reaches all countries, gaining day by day new millions. It is by making itself prominent that almost half of humanity has now been freed by the ideas of scientific socialism.

Chapter V

Marxism was born in the 1840's, more than 100 years ago. In 1848, the "Communist Manifesto" was published, the elementary scientific textbook and primer of the struggle of the proletariats. Each successive day it influences the masses. This comes about because it is the theory of the liberating movement of the proletariat, the theory of the revolutionary transformation of society, of the liquidation of all forms of exploitation.

Lenin in his "Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx" points out the three fundamental stages of the development of marxism. They are;

1. From the 1848 revolution to the Paris Commune of 1871;
2. From the Paris Commune to the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907

3. From the Russian revolution to our times.

The first stage of the development of marxism coincides with the period of bourgeois revolutions in Europe. Marx and Engels hoped that the bourgeois revolution, especially in Germany, might be transformed into the socialist revolution. Capitalism at that time was on the upsurge. For this reason, Marx and Engels said

that if the revolution should triumph in a single country, it would not be able to last because the contradictions of capitalism were not extremely acute.

Marx and Engels did not live in the period of the unequal development of capitalism: the period of imperialism. In that period the proletariat of Paris triumphed and implanted the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it was crushed by the pressure of the bourgeoisie. Toward the end of the first period the independent proletarian parties were born: the First International and the German PSO. [German Socialist Workers Party, Gotha program?]

The second stage of the development of marxism, 1871-1904, coincides with the period of relatively peaceful development. The period of the bourgeois revolutions in the west had ended yet and had not matured in the east. That period is characterized by the absence of revolutions. The enemies of marxism began their revisionist activity. They affirmed that there was no necessity for revolutions,; they sought social peace. The ex-marxist Bernstein was the first to try to revise marxism. He was the guiding light of all reformist attempts and the typical representative of the social-democratic reformist. That stage lasted until ~~IX~~ the revolution in the East began to mature. In 1905 the first Russian revolution begins. The democratic revolution appeared in the period of imperialism, under the hegemony of the proletariat. During this period, marxism was making small gains through a slow process, but early it ~~saquired~~ required new strength and penetrates, victoriously, especially in the bosom of the Russian proletariat.

The third stage of the development of marxism is that of Leninism -- the stage of imperialism and of the proletariat

revolutions. Better said, Leninism is the theory and the tactics of the proletariat revolution in general and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. Lenin developed marxism in the period of imperialism and enriched it in a creative and forceful manner.

Since then, marxism is gaining new triumph after new triumph. The application of the class struggle proved throughout its entire process of development that marxism is an all-powerful, unquerable doctrine. Let us look at society 100 years ago and let us compare the world situation at the present day.

In this period, an infinite number of "saving" theories arose. Some influenced sectors of the working class. But all of them were being scorned by the proletariat because the road to its complete freedom was not indicated. Marxism, alone, grew and developed in the consciences of the oppressed masses. Now Marxism has freed, forever, about a billion beings from capitalist exploitation. It is an unconquerable doctrine which is revolutionizing the world. In 1913, Lenin said: "Since the appearance of Marxism, each of the three great stages of Universal History proved it once more and gave it new triumphs. But Marxism will enjoy even a greater triumph as the doctrine for the historical period which is approaching."

Chapter VI

Marx and Engels reworked critically all the best that human thought had produced. Marx-Leninism is the expression of the interest most vital to the laboring class and to all workers. It is not a sect but a weapon which supports the proletariat in its revolutionary struggle and to which it reveals its historic mission: the liberation of society from the exploitation of man by man. Marx-Leninism wins the millions of the masses who find [in it] the weapon for their spiritual and material liberation.

Even in his youth, Stalin rightfully said that this doctrine, which grows and is strengthened each day and which represents the true leaders of the active proletariat movement, is unconquerable and all-powerful. Stalin later stated that whoever wished to fight against that doctrine must be on a par with anyone who would break his head uselessly by engaging in an unequal fight.

It is for that reason that it is said in the History of the CPSU that the Communist Party cannot fulfill its mission of vanguard if it does not possess the Marx-Lenin doctrine. In the History it is said: "The strength of the Marx-Lenin theory consists in giving the Party the possibility to orient itself in any situation, to understand the internal significance of the events which occur around it, to foresee the march of events, and to discern not only ^{how} and where the events develop in the present but also how and where they will unfold in the future."

Stalin said that the lower the level of Marx-Leninism in the Communists the more probable are the failures and defeats in their work, the pettiness and degradation in the militants. The greater the degree of awareness of the Marx-Lenin theory was, so much the greater will be the results of our activity and more effective our work.

The process of assimilating Marx-Leninism is the process of assimilating dialectic and historical materialism and scientific socialism. That assimilation is so that we may work more and better for the cause of our party and the cause of the proletariat of the entire world.

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Next 13 Page(s) In Document Denied

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM, SCIENTIFIC AND REVOLUTIONARY CONCEPT OFTHE CP, IS THE THEORETICAL BASIS OF COMMUNISM

25X1

- Summary:
- I. Introduction
 - II. Aim of dialectical materialism
 - III. The rise of dialectical materialism, revolution in philosophy
 - IV. The radical opposition between materialism and ^{id} ~~realism~~
 - V. The radical opposition between dialectics and metaphysics
 - VI. The creative character of dialectical materialism
 - VII. Dialectical materialism, the theoretical expression of
basic
the/interests of the working class.
 - VIII. Dialectical materialism, theoretical basis of Communism.

IX. Brief conclusions

I. When one begins to study philosophy, one imagines that it is something ~~in~~ accessible to the common man, the worker, the Communist who lacks the sufficient theoretical level, or otherwise that it is something abstract and alien to life. Including in the daily ~~xxx~~ routine, philosophy and philosophers are given a semi-ironical treatment. The proletariat, however, has its own ^e philosophy, and it is a powerful weapon ⁱⁿ the hands of the working class. The philosophy of the proletariat is not disconnected from life; it is completely linked to life, to revolutionary practice. It is not possible to lay out a scientific ~~xxx~~ policy, as the policy of a PC must ^{be} ~~be~~, ^{without at} ~~at~~ least assimilating the fundamentals of the ^a Marxist philosophy. ~~xxxx~~

Our philosophy is called dialectical materialism. That means that dialectical materialism is the philosophy of the proletariat, the theoretical foundation of Communism, and the scientific and revolutionary concept of the world that the CP maintains. It is uncompromisingly

hostile to all kinds of bourgeois ideas which always seek to falsify reality. Hence it is an instrument for the interpretation and revolutionary transformation of society. To be a good Communist it is not enough to know the problems of Party policy. One must also know the theoretical bases which are the very foundation of that same policy. That is to say: it is necessary at least to have an idea of the general struggles which are the theoretical bases of Party policy, and thereby be able to apply it in the practical work with greater conviction and have a broader perspective.

Marx said: "Just as philosophy found in the proletariat its material /weapon/, so the proletariat found in philosophy its ~~spirit~~ spiritual /weapon/." For an understanding of the essence of the Marxist philosophy and the basic difference between it and all the other, earlier philosophical doctrines, of which the most progressive represented the ideas and interests of the exploiting classes, there must be an answer to the following questions: What is philosophy? What is materialism? What is dialectics?

Philosophy is one of the forms of social consciousness. Philosophy is a concept of ~~the~~ the world, that is to say a way to see the world. It is a body of viewpoints and ideas of reality which [surrounds us], that is, on the world as a whole and on its laws.

Each social class has its own concept of the ~~the~~ world. It seeks to compose a general picture of the world and embrace in it all the phenomena which take place in nature and in society. The bourgeois ideologists assert that a scientific concept of the world, that is to say, a concept of the world based on the facts of science and practice, cannot exist. According to that viewpoint, the only ^{possible} /concept of the world is the mystic religious concept. This negation of the scientific character of the concept of the world is aimed at turning philosophy into the slave of

religion and not into an arena of liberation. The leaders of rightist socialism also deny ~~the~~ the possibility of a scientific concept of the world. They ~~as~~^{assert}, for example, that any concept of the world is hypothetical and for that reason lacks any significance to the struggle of the proletariat. From this it is concluded that the Party of the ~~proletarian~~ working class has no need for a scientific and revolutionary concept of the world capable of interpreting and transforming it. The aim of those viewpoints is /clear/ It is to disarm the proletariat ideologically and to push the workers movement into the path of spontaneism, which is the logical basis of all opportunism.

With this they attempt to beat down the organizing and transforming influence of the Marxist concept of the world which unites and gives enlightenment and confidence to the working masses in the struggle for the ~~victory~~ victory of socialism. The value of a scientific and revolutionary concept of the world lies in the fact that in defining the general concept which we must have about nature and society and the laws ^{by} which it is ruled it conditions thereby the ~~very~~ very relations between man and the world around him.

Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin gave great importance to the creation and development of dialectical materialism as the only ~~scientific~~ ^{time} scientific and revolutionary concept of the world, seeking at the same ^{time} to carry out its creative application and struggle uncompromisingly against all the ~~un~~ unscientific concepts of the exploiting classes. Dialectical materialism is the theoretical and scientific basis of the programs, strategy, and tactics of the CP's. The CP's find in dialectical materialism the theoretical foundation of their revolutionary methods and of the forms of struggle against exploiting and oppressive regimes and for socialism.

II. Dialectical materialism studies and interprets the more general objective laws which operate always and everywhere, the general laws

of the movement, the development, and the transformation of ~~the~~ nature, of society and of ~~the~~ ^{ought} ~~being~~.

General laws exist objectively, that is to say independently of the will and the consciousness of man. These general laws are indissolubly bound to the specific laws inherent to certain forms of ~~the~~ motion of ~~nature~~ nature and society. The specific laws are peculiar manifestations of the general laws of the motion, transformation, and development of nature and society. It must be stated that the laws of social living are qualitatively different from the laws of nature, but both the former and the latter are specific forms of the same ^{general} objective/laws of dialectics.

Dialectical materialism is not separated from the sciences which study aspects of nature and of society, and ~~it~~ it does not take the place of these sciences; on the contrary, it is the scientific generalization of the results achieved by all the other sectors of human knowledge. That is the correlation between dialectical ~~materialism~~ materialism and the sciences which study nature and society. The various sciences investigate the concrete forms of reality, the qualitative distinctions, and the peculiarities of the phenomena of nature and society. Dialectical materialism, however, is what enables us to penetrate the essence of the phenomena ~~studied~~ studied, in their composite, and to tie together as a unit the various scientific doctrines. By studying dialectical materialism we come to know the world and society in their entirety. ^{precisely} ~~because~~ because of that, dialectical materialism orients us in the understanding of each and every one of the phenomena which take place in nature and in society. The subject of dialectical materialism is, therefore, the more general laws of the motion, development, and transformation of nature and society, which makes it possible to give us a more harmonious and scientific picture of the world.

III. With the rise of dialectical materialism, there occurred a change in the principles and the social role of philosophy, and its objective, theory, and method. Dialectical materialism is qualitatively different from all other philosophical concepts. It is the concept of the CP, the concept which is the theoretical basis of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, for the /Communist/ transformation of society. This is the new social role of Marxist philosophy. Marx said: "Until now, the philosophers limited themselves only to explaining the world; the thing now is to transform it." This dictum by Marx indicates that pre-Marxist philosophy was not and could not be the theoretical and scientific basis for the revolutionary transformation of the world. It was not and could not be a powerful weapon in the ~~hands~~ hands of the masses in their struggle against the social yoke. Pre-Marxist philosophy was always a justification in one or another manner of the regimes of exploitation, and envisaged the masses' conciliation with the prevailing social order. This is why the philosophers preached that men should never be preoccupied with practical interests, with the things of everyday ~~life~~ life, but that they should be interested only in the eternal, the absolute, and the abstract. This kind of philosophical preachment draws man away from the struggle for a better future, and differs little from the religious doctrines. For example: Fischer, the German philosopher, one of the greatest representatives of subjective idealism, used to say that one of the most comforting verifications of philosophy was that "all that exists must remain as it is." In the same manner, the religious concept asserts that the more And of page; remainder of sentence missing. Not only idealist philosophy but also materialist ~~philosophy~~ philosophy prior to Marx used to assert that all that exists ^{was}, in its foundation, stable and inevitable. By virtue thereof it would be possible only to diminish some of the social

injustices existing in the present-day society, but never to carry out the radical and revolutionary transformation of the entire social pattern.

The French materialists of the XVIII century were no doubt against the feudal order and religion, but they regarded the nature of man as immutable and bourgeois society as a natural phenomenon, according to reason and the eternal laws of human life. Thus, the philosophical doctrines of the exploiting class looked upon philosophy as a justification of the fundamental bases of the existing regime, denying the possibility /if not the/ necessity of ^{setting up} a theoretical foundation for the radical transformation of society. The rise of the Marxist philosophy was conditioned above all by the vital need that the working class had of discovering the basic laws of social development. The proletariat enters the arena of history as a class which is seeking to destroy the old society and create a new social regime, without classes. The historical mission of the proletariat lies in the liquidation of all the regimes of exploitation and oppression, in the revolutionary transformation of society with the aim of building a higher social regime without the exploitation of man by man and without classes, which is Communism. That is why the doctrine of dialectical materialism on the motion, transformation, and development of society is ~~unquestionably~~ taken /to heart/ by the proletariat as the confirmation and interpretation of its class aspirations. The liquidation of the old, for example, is ~~inseparable~~ indissolubly linked to the activity of the proletariat for the creation of the new. The great revolutionary transformation of society which the proletariat aims to effect, not only does not exclude but even presupposes the critical re-elaboration of ~~the~~ all the conquests of the development of human thinking. The proletariat is alien to the deception which is common to all the old exploiting and oppressive classes as well as to all the limitations pertaining to the other classes.

That special trait of the proletariat explains why precisely their ideologists were the creators of the /only/ scientific philosophical materialism and of the materialist dialectical method, which are decisively significant to theoretical knowledge as well as to practical /application/. The doctrine of Marx and Engels is not simply a philosophical doctrine but a doctrine of the proletarian masses in their fight for freedom. The philosophers prior to Marx commonly envisaged establishing laws on the instability of the order of every existing thing, even though their task was to investigate the more general laws of objective reality. They tried to ~~to~~ establish the links existing between things and not to discover the links, ruled by objective laws, between what there was, what there is, and what there will be. Marxism discovered the objective laws of the development ~~and transformation~~ of objective reality, placing that discovery ^{at} ~~in~~ the basis of their study and their interpretation of society in order to transform it in a revolutionary manner. Therein lies the basic difference between the ~~the~~ doctrine of dialectical materialism ~~from~~ and all other philosophical doctrines, including the most progressive ones.

The pre-Marxist philosophical doctrines counterposed not ~~only~~ ~~the~~ theory against practice but also philosophy against the sciences which are devoted to the investigation of certain phenomena of nature and of society. The most important result of the revolutionary change made by Marx and Engels was the creation of historical materialism, as the science which serves as the basis of all social sciences. All of this shows us how different are the ~~the~~ philosophical doctrines of the exploiting classes and those of the proletariat.

Being the philosophical doctrine of the most revolutionary class arisen in the history of mankind and whose objective is the revolutionary transformation of society, it could ^{not} arise except through a revolution

in the philosophical thinking prior to Marx and Engels.

IV. The CP's concept of the world is called dialectical materialism because its theory, that is, its understanding of the phenomena of nature and of society and its interpretation of those phenomena, is materialistic.

In the course of the philosophical thinking of the class society there existed the most ~~various~~ diverse philosophical doctrines, but they all respond in one way or another to the question of the relationship between consciousness and the being, between thought and matter, between the psychic and the physical. That is the fundamental question of philosophy and constitutes its essential theoretical point. It asks itself: what comes first, consciousness or being, spirit or matter? Or, in ~~other~~ other words, is man capable of knowing objective reality, or ^{can} ~~is~~ that reality not be known? Can the Brazilian reality, or can it not, be known by the PCB?

The solution to that basic question divides the philosophers into two opposed camps. On one side are the idealists, who say that consciousness, the spiritual, ~~is~~ primary, and matter, nature, reality, is secondary. On the other side are the materialists, who say that matter, reality, is the primary determinant factor, and consciousness, the spiritual, ~~is~~ is the secondary factor. The division of the philosophical currents into idealistic and materialistic is expressed in the partisan character of philosophy, in its indissoluble links with certain classes or groups of society, progressive or reactionary; that is to say, the struggle between ~~the~~ materialists and idealists is the struggle ~~between~~ between the interests of antagonistic classes or groups of society. One or the other solution to the basic problem of philosophy, that is, the question of the relationship between consciousness and being, expresses ~~thence~~ in the last analysis the attitude of one or another class in ^{relation} ~~relation~~ to the reality surrounding it. Thus, for example, the struggle

between the materialism of Democritus and the idealism of Plato reflects the struggle ~~between~~ between the progressive slave democracy and the reactionary aristocracy in Greece. The struggle of the Russian democratic revolutionaries of the last century, such as Bielinski, Herten, etc. against the idealists reflected the protest of the Russian peasantry against the control of the latifundists. While there exists a society of antagonistic classes, the struggle between materialism and idealism is a law of the development of philosophy. A great merit of materialism in the history of mankind is the fundamentation of atheism, which is a result of the materialist solution to the basic problem of philosophy. Religion, which was always consecrated as a doctrine of the enslaving of man by man, and which exalts ignorance as a state of beatification, has in materialism an uncompromising enemy. Unmasking the religious superstitions, materialism inspires in men faith in their own forces, in the real possibility of achieving happiness right here on earth instead of in an imaginary world beyond the grave; idealism, on the other hand, admits the existence of supernatural, mystical forces; whatever the name of the idealists, all of them support and spread the word of the existence of a supernatural force, a force which, however varied the names given it may be, is nothing ^{but} ~~but~~ synonymous with God.

Marx and Engels said: "The idealists believe in inspiration, revelation, saviors, and magicians." That is why idealism is profoundly hostile to the scientific study of nature as well as of society. There is nothing accidental about this attitude; idealism being the philosophical expression of the exploiting classes, it will do all it ~~can~~ can to confuse reality by unscientific concepts, lies, deceit, and demagoguery. To set forth reality as it truly is, as, for instance, in society, means to expose all the sores of ^a society based on exploitation and oppression and stimulate the struggle of the exploited and oppressed;

~~now~~ this does not interest the dominant class and its ideologists. All of this shows ~~th~~ us that only the philosophy of the proletariat, as the most consistent force of society, can arm us with a concept capable of studying nature and society scientifically and carry out their revolutionary transformation. All this is in accord with the interests of the working class.

V. The PC's concept of the world is called dialectical materialism because its methods of studying the phenomena of nature and society is dialectical. What, then, is dialectics?

The word dialectics originated in the Greek word "dialogos" ~~which means to engage in a polemic. The Greeks called dialectics the art of discussion, which consisted in discovering the contradictions in the reasoning of opponents and thus refute their reasoning. The ancient Greeks believed that to be the best means of arriving at the truth; that is, by the clash of opposite opinions and the elimination of contradictions. If ~~now~~ one of those engaged in the discussion said that justice consists in doing good, another one would reply asserting that in war to do good to the enemy was to be unjust. This would reveal the insufficiency of unilateral thinking and the need to have the most complete understanding of things. Later on the word dialectics came to mean not so much the method of ~~the~~ polemic as the method of study of phenomena, the method of discovering the contradictions which are naturally inherent to the phenomena themselves.~~

The specific peculiarity of dialectics as the method of study of reality ^{is} ~~is~~ that it considers phenomena in their interconnections and mutual conditionings, in their motion, transformation, and development, on the basis of the internal contradictions of the phenomena themselves.

Why is precisely this method of studying reality the only just one?

Because, in nature and in society, phenomena are actually linked with one another, conditioned by one another, they are always in constant ~~def~~ development, ~~tax~~ transformation, and motion, and there always are contradictions. For example: one cannot conceive of the rise of the proletariat without the rise of capitalism. Our countries in the past were oppressed by the Portuguese and the Spaniards, and they freed themselves through the ~~struggle~~ struggle of the peoples. For ~~centuries~~ centuries there was slavery in Brazil; now there is none. This demonstrates that society is in motion, transformation, and development. Other than that we find ^{in society} today differences between the interests of the bosses and ~~h~~ those of the workers, which are the basic contradictions of capitalist society, class contradictions which constitute the very motor of history, and by proceeding from them we can revolutionarily transform all society.

The metaphysicists, on the other hand, try to prove that things exist independently of each other, that things are immutable, and that development is reduced to a quantitative increase. The materialist dialectician considers phenomena as they exist objectively in reality, and therefore uninterruptedly in motion, transformation, and development. Stalin says that the dialectic method considers ~~life~~ life as it is in actuality; if life is in constant development, we must ~~look~~ consider life in its proper development and look in the same direction as life looks. The metaphysicists, however, being subjectivists, consider phenomena dissociated from their ~~objective~~ objective links and not as existing realities, attempting this to abstract themselves from their development, transformation, and motion as well as from their internal contradictions. The metaphysical (i.e. subjective) concept of phenomena, particularly of phenomena of life in ~~it~~ society, is ^{useful} ~~useful~~ and necessary to the exploiting classes.

For instance, the semicolonial ~~regime~~ and semifeudal regime is interested in persuading our people that it is an immutable regime. We commonly hear it said that it does not pay to fight because, just as our grandfathers and fathers were exploited, so will we be, and our descendants after us. Such preachments are intensified particularly during ~~periods~~ of the historic collapse of one or another exploiting class, that is to say, when the exploiting ~~and~~ classes feel that their positions are being threatened, they ~~tend~~ consciously seek to convince the masses that it is not possible to do away with ~~exploit~~ exploitation and oppression. Today, for example, the capitalists try to demonstrate that capitalism is the crowning achievement of social progress and do everything to show ~~that~~ up as an absurd monstrosity ~~of~~ the position of the Communists who struggle for the destruction of capitalism and who demonstrate the inevitability of the victory of the new, which is the proletariat, over the old, which is the bourgeoisie. The Communists assert that, just as slave society was liquidated, so will capitalist society. We assert also that private property is not perpetual, nor are exploitation and oppression eternal. The peasants can live without the latifundists; the workers can be free and build a classless society. The example of the USSR shows us that society is always in a state of transformation and development.

The dialectical understanding of society is greatly important to the proletariat, because it gives it the certainty that it will be a completely free force.

The reformists, for example, in their thought and action violate the very laws of social development and objective reality. They are devoted to reforms, with which the workers may improve their living conditions ~~by~~ but will ~~not~~ never cease being exploited. They admit the motion of society but combat the need for the revolutionary struggle

to destroy the exploiting society and achieve the ~~pk~~ political power. This is because the reformers consider reforms as an end and not as the means to ~~achieve political power~~ organize the working ~~class~~ class and ~~take~~ take over political power. For that reason, reformism is accepted by the exploiters, because it admits that society is immutable. The national-reformists, for instance, claim that they can obtain the national independence of their countries through agreements with the imperialists. But it is well known that there can be no imperialism without colonies; ~~how~~ how, then, is imperialism going to destroy itself? The Communists, on the other hand, say that the struggle for national independence can only be victorious through revolution. The dominant classes talk much about social peace. What peace is that? It is the peace between exploiter and exploited, which interests the former ~~to~~ to continue for some time longer. The Communists say that it is necessary to reveal the contradictions existing ~~in~~ among them and sharpen them in order to overcome them and thus make society ~~advance~~ advance. It is because of all that that we say that the dialectical materialist concept of nature and society is ~~is~~ scientific and revolutionary. It corresponds entirely to the interests of the working class as the most revolutionary class of society.

VI. As a concept of the world based on the ~~is~~ facts of science and of practice, dialectical materialism starts from the acknowledgment that ~~the~~ ^{our} process of ~~learning~~ ^{learning} never wears out, is always becoming broader and richer. For example, when a person enters the Party, his understanding of the revolutionary movement gradually develops ⁵ until he arrives at the Marxist-Leninist realization that the construction of socialism is necessary, inevitable, and possible. Another example: before we prepared our program, we had a limited

understanding of the Brazilian reality. Then we came to have a ~~new~~ picture of that reality, a scientific picture, and our understanding changed. That is why Marx and Engels used to say that their doctrine could not be taken as dogma but as a guide to action.

The most important feature ~~xxx~~ of dialectical materialism as a philosophy of the proletariat is its creative antidogmatic character, indissolubly ~~xxx~~ linked to practice, to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, which constantly enriches it. The unity between dialectical materialism and revolutionary practice, the action of the masses led by the ~~PC~~ CP, is organically inherent to Marxism. Dialectical materialism considers revolutionary practice ~~xxx~~ the basis of the development of our knowledge as much as the main criterion for its actualization. Theory is the systematized generalization of the practice of the workers' revolutionary movement. The aptness, the truthfulness of the ~~xxx~~ scientific and revolutionary viewpoints of ~~xxxx~~ our Party program, for instance, will be put into practice by the struggle for their implementation which ~~xxx~~ in turn will develop our knowledge of the Brazilian reality, and the most varied aspects of the struggle for the victory of the revolution. This is what characterizes the ~~xxxxxxx~~ creative and antidogmatic nature of dialectical ~~xxxx~~ materialism; that is, we must not take things as fixed, perfect, and finished. This trait, for instance, distinguishes dialectical materialism from the opportunistic ideas which separate theory from practice. There can be no dogmaticism where the supreme and ~~only~~ only criterion of doctrine is its entire correspondence to the actual process of economic and social development. It is the development of society itself which proves the deep vitality of ~~x~~ dialectical materialism. The latter can generalize on the facts of past and present and even foresee the future. In order to

prepare the program of the CP, for instance, it is necessary to study and interpret the historical development of the country concerned until the present, which permits generalizing on all the data which constitute the reality in their present development and well as foreseeing the future of that development.

If we analyze the reality of our country we find that we have a semicolonial and semifeudal regime in which there is a lack of correspondence between the character of the productive forces and the production relations. ~~From that~~ From that ~~arises~~ arises the necessity and inevitability of revolution and the character of the revolutionary transformations which we have the freedom to carry out. With this will be created the ~~new~~ objective and subjective conditions for us to set ^{out} on the road to socialism. Thus we see the past and the present and espy the future. This is what ~~these~~ other political parties are unable to do. The scientific foresight given by dialectical materialism is a powerful weapon. Only dialectical materialism gives us the possibility to generalize theoretically on social developments, foresee their future advance, and thereby organize the practical work.

The creative character of dialectical materialism can be seen by its own history. For example, Marx and Engels ~~developed the theory of the proletariat within the conditions of pre-monopoly capitalism. They were unable to generalize on certain phenomena arisen in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolutions. Lenin and Stalin had the task of developing dialectical materialism during the latter era. Dialectical materialism is thus a live, creative doctrine in constant state of development. Thus it is not a matter of swallowing the formulas, the isolated concepts as a collection~~

of immutable dogmas, but of seeking to command their ~~essence~~ essence, that is to say, their theory and their method ~~ex~~ of study and interpretation of reality in order to employ them in the solution of practical tasks and by means of the practical struggle gradually enrich them day by day as our philosophical doctrine and weapon for action.

VII. Under the conditions of class society all philosophy is an expression of the interests of a given class. It is the concept of nature and society of a given party.

What is it that determines class interests? It is their position toward the system of production relations. There does not and cannot exist a nonpartisan philosophy--neutral, independent [one word] of the interests of this or that class--while there exist classes and the class struggle. Philosophy has a party, belongs to a class. It is not possible to ~~xxx~~ live in a society and be independent of that society. It is not possible to live in a class society and still not belong to this or that social class, in one or another way. No one can keep apart and independent of the class struggle and of his ideas and interests.

Lenin said: "To expect an impartial science in a society of salaried ^{ingenuous} exploitation is as stupidly ~~stupid~~ as to expect the sympathy of the capitalists on the question of whether the workers' wages should be raised by the reduction of the profits of capital." That is why Lenin always said that when it comes to judging the political parties and politicians, what must be seen is not what they say but what they do and what interests they defend. If the ideas of the exploiting classes were not false, if they spoke the truth, order would long since have disappeared. The politics of the latifundists and big capitalists cannot be scientific because it would have to

reveal the truth about the present despotic regime in control in Brazil. Only the exploited and oppressed, particularly the proletariat, can expose the truth of the Brazilian situation because by thus knowing the character of the present ~~x~~ regime of exploitation and oppression they can launch the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of ~~xxx~~ society which corresponds to their own interests. All philosophical and ideological positions in a class society are, in essence, of a class character. The bourgeois philosophers ~~ix~~ seek in every way to conceal the class character of all their concepts in order thus to deceive the masses and put into the heads of the masses the ideas of the bourgeoisie. The so-called nonpartisanship of the ideologists bourgeois ~~ideologists~~ is nothing but a mask to conceal their partisanship ~~from the masses~~ in the service of the dominant classes. Lenin ~~ix~~ said: "Nonpartisanship ~~exists~~ in bourgeois society is only the hypocritical, dissembling expression of adherence to the party of the sated, the party of those in control, the party of the exploiters."

The characteristic of dialectical materialism is its clear, frank, combative position~~x~~ in ~~the~~ behalf of the working class, of revolutionary its/struggle to transform nature and society. This philosophy does not conceal that it considers society, the phenomena which take place within it, from the viewpoint of the working class, to carry out the revolution, achieve the power, and construct socialism.

It may be asked: ^{if} ~~when~~ philosophy interprets the phenomena of objective reality and of society in accordance with the viewpoints of a given class, can there then not be adulteration, deformation, a picture molded to the interests of that class?

With respect to bourgeois philosophy, that is true. Because the class interests of present-day bourgeoisie do not correspond to the objective march of social development; on the contrary, it

opposes such development and does all it can to prevent it. The life of society, by force of the inevitable development of social life [sic], development along the road to the collapse of the old society and the victory of a new society. It is clear that the exploiting classes cannot admit this. They seek to conceal the sores of present-day society and adulterate reality in order to deceive the masses.

But the interests of the proletariat do not oppose the development of society; on the contrary, they fully coincide with that development. The more the proletariat struggles for the development of society, the more it develops. ~~Marx~~ That is why the working class and its ideology are totally interested in the knowledge, as accurate as possible, of social development, without adulteration. The more fully expressed are the interests of the working class in philosophy and politics, the more accurate, complete, and profound will be the reflection of the laws of the objective reality which ^{faithful} surrounds us. The more/and profound the picture of development is reproduced in Marxist politics, of which dialectical materialism as well as the is the foundation, ~~Marx~~ ~~Marxism~~ weapon for the study and interpretation of that reality, the more profoundly will be reflected the ~~the~~ historical tasks of the working class and the CP. The more consistently we put into practice the principle of partisanship in philosophy and in politics, the more guaranteed shall we be against errors; precisely because the partisan character of the dialectical materialist concept of nature and of society ~~Marxism~~ coincides with objective reality, the CP's boldly and firmly uphold the principles of their politics and their philosophy.

§ VIII. Communism is called scientific because it is based on the dialectical materialist scientific interpretation of social

life, Ignorant of the laws of development of society and considering ^{social} idealistically the/phenomena, the ~~utopian~~ utopian socialists thought that socialism corresponded to the demands of reason, of universal morality, and of social justice, and could be created independently of material conditions and thanks to the intuition of eminent persons who, convincing themselves of the aptness and justice of the socialist ideal, fought for ~~the~~ its accomplishment. Therefore when it was necessary for the ~~workers~~ workers to have a solid understanding of reality [sic]. Capitalism was regarded by the utopian socialists ^{as} ~~the~~ the consequence of the foolishness, ignorance, and lack of understanding of the employers. They were metaphysicists and idealists. They did not understand reality as it is nor the necessity ~~of~~ for a revolutionary transformation of society in accordance with the interests of the proletariat. From the viewpoint of the utopian socialists, socialism could arise in any period of time, even 1,000 years ago, depending on some genius or man of good will. Marx and Engels, however, demonstrated that socialism is not a dream but the necessary and inevitable result of the development of society, conditioned not by the free decision and good will of men ~~and~~ but by the prior ~~de~~velopment of society.

The "History of the CPSU" states that "in counterposition to the utopian socialists, Marx and Engels, great teachers of the proletariat, were the first ones to explain that socialism is not a fancy of dreamers, of utopians, but the necessary result of the development of modern capitalist society. They demonstrated that the capitalist regime will fall in the same manner as the slave and feudal regimes, and that capitalism itself creates its own grave-digger, the proletariat."

Proudhon, an idealist, introduced subjectivist ideas into the

proletariat, leading it into disasters. The same thing happened with the anarchists and the anarcho-syndicalists. They did not base their activities on the ^stransformation of society in accordance with concrete reality. There is no example in history of utopians, anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists, etc., coming into power, liquidating the exploitation of man by man, and ^{ling}leaving the working class into socialism. That was done only by the forces which are based on dialectical materialism. They took over the power in Russia and built the classless society. [Three-word fragment here.] Revolutionary practice proved that Marxism-Leninism, which is based on dialectical materialism, is the only ideology of the proletariat because it is true and therefore all-powerful and invincible.

The essence of the philosophical foundation and of the practice of scientific communism resides in the search for and ~~xi~~ discovery of the laws of development of society, of the laws of the passage from capitalism into communism, ~~xx~~ as well as the explanation of the ways and means for the revolutionary transformation of society through the conscious utilization of the laws of social development which condition the necessity of communism as a higher phase in the development of mankind.

Marx and Engels developed the materialist and dialectical philosophy as the theoretical basis of communism and as the strategy and tactics of CP's. Considering ~~the~~ man and the relations among men as affected by the material conditions of social living, ~~xxx~~ conditioned by the permanent processes of transformation, the founders of Marxism discovered the organic connection between the materialist concept of the world and ~~communism~~ socialism.

Marx and Engels, extending dialectical materialism into the

interpretation of life in society, linked philosophy to revolutionary practice, to /one word/, to the struggle against oppression, to the struggle for socialism and communism. Hence, Marx, emphasizing that dialectical materialism was practical materialism, said: "To the practical materialist, that is to say, to the communist, it all lies in revolutionizing the existing world, ~~in turning~~ in a practical manner against the situation of existing things, and in ^{transforming} them." The idealistic interpretation of society and the metaphysical method of studying ~~life~~ life in society led the utopian socialists not to understand the real means for the accomplishment of the socialist ideal. The accomplishment of socialism was conceived of by those thinkers as a consequence of the spreading of socialist ideas, but they ~~did not~~ were unaware of the fact that those ideas were opposed not only by ideas hostile to them but ~~by~~ also by classes hostile to them. To them the working class was ~~not~~ only an object for exploitation and not a creator of a new society. The communists, interpreting the content of the socialist ideal in a materialistic manner, reveal dialectically the irreconcilability between the interests of the workers and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, demonstrating that the material force opposed to socialism can only be overcome by another material force, in the process of class struggle by means of revolution. Marxism teaches that ~~for~~ the practical accomplishment of the ^{historical} transition from our present society to a democratic-popular regime and from capitalism to socialism requires the organization of the proletarian class, requires the CP to lead the proletariat to revolution, and requires the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a doctrine of transformation ruled by ~~the~~ the laws of all social phenomena, dialectical materialism leads inevitably into the ways and means for the victory of our class. In opposition to the opportunism which down-

grades the role of the revolutionary theory, the CP regards highly its role in the motion, organization, and ⁵transformation₄ of society. A CP cannot fully exercise its role of leadership unless it is in command of the theory of the proletariat, which is the only revolutionary one.

The CP is the very expression, the indissoluble organic unity between the revolutionary workers movement and scientific socialism, of which dialectical materialism is the theoretical basis.

Dialectical materialism is an irreplaceable ideological instrument for the Party in the task of training its members, ~~and~~ of instilling socialist ideas in the masses, and of effecting ~~the~~ revolutionary transformation of society. It provides the Party with the weapon for the study and interpretation and enables it to determine with accuracy the Party policy in every stage of development of the revolutionary struggle. The strategy and tactics of the CP, its program, and its policy are based on the scientific understanding of reality. Therein lies one of the main sources of strength and invincibility for the CP's.

IX. Dialectical materialism is the philosophy of the CP. And the revolutionary philosophy of the CP is the scientific expression ^{class} of the/interests of the proletariat. Having arisen more than a century ago, the Marxist philosophy grows and develops day by day, arming the working class ideologically for the struggle for its complete liberation. Under its banner the working class triumphed in Russia, China, and the People's Democracies. And under its banner the working class of all countries struggles for its liberation. Dialectical materialism is the only scientific philosophy. Its object ^{and interpretation} is the study/of the more general laws of the motion, ⁵transformation₄, and development of nature and society. Dialectical materialism is the

philosophical basis of the revolutionary transformation of society.
For that reason it is the theoretical foundation of communism.
Extending the dialectical-materialist concept to the interpretation
of the history of society, Marx and Engels transformed ~~[Socialism]~~^[Socialism?]
from utopia into science; fundamented the inevitability of the
revolutionary transformation of society from capitalism to communism. Dialectical materialism is the theoretical basis of the
program, strategy, and tactics of the CP's. Combative and open
partisanship is the characteristic trait of dialectical materialism.
The consistent struggle for the accomplishment of ~~the~~ Party policy,
the struggle against all enemies of the proletarian concept of the
world is the most important content of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

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The Marxist Philosophical Materialism.

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Summary:

- I - The fundamental question of philosophy: materialism or idealism.
- II - The materiality of the world and the laws of its development.
- III - The primary nature of matter, and the secondary of conscience.
- IV - The cognoscibility* of the world and its laws.
- V -

I - The fundamental question of philosophy: materialism or idealism.

What is the fundamental question of philosophy? It is the question of the relationship between the being and the mind, between matter and conscience, between nature and spirit.

The fundamental question of philosophy is expressed in the following manner: What is primary, matter or thought?

According to the way this question is answered, philosophers are divided into two great camps. The philosophers who assert that matter is primary and thought secondary, or derived from matter, comprise the camp of materialism. The philosophers who assert that thought or conscience is primary and matter secondary make up the camp of idealism.

To understand the question one must be aware of what is matter and what is thought:

Matter - is the objective reality which is given man through his sensations; it is copied, photographed, reflected in our sensations, but exists independently of our sensations (Lenin),

Thought - is the superior product of a particular form of organized

* Cognoscibility means the understanding of the world and its laws.

matter (the human brain); it is the active process of reflecting objective reality in the brain of Man.

Materialist philosophers demonstrate that matter exists independently of Man's consciousness, and that Man's thought is no more than a reflexion of matter. Materialist philosophers maintain that matter exists independently (nature, trees, rivers [?], all exist ^{whether} or not ⁱⁿ our conscience) and if our conscience ceased to exist matter would not cease to exist. According to this belief, the materialists assert that before Man existed matter ^{developed} already existed and ~~evolved~~. This in itself is enough to understand the thesis of the materialists and refute the idealists.

These two philosophical orientations -- materialism and idealism -- have struggled against each other since antiquity. The whole history of philosophy is no more than the history of the struggle between materialism and idealism. This struggle is a reflection of the fight of the classes in the field of philosophical ideas. Materialist philosophy, as a general rule, reflects the interests of the revolutionary or progressive classes. Inversely, idealist philosophy almost always represents the interests of the reactionary classes.

What is the reason for this? That materialism is the ^{world} conception of the ~~world~~ of the classes interested in a just interpretation of reality, ^{and} interested in the evolution of science. Meanwhile, idealism is the conception of the classes interested in deforming reality, ^{and} ~~interested~~ in disguising it under a cloak of religion or mysticism.

II - The materiality of the world and the laws of its ^{development} ~~evolution~~

Marxist philosophical materialism teaches that the world, in order to be natural, must be material; the ^{to various} ~~different~~ world phenomena are different forms of matter in movement. Engels said: "the materialist conception of the world means simply to conceive matter such as it is, free of alien ^{illegible} ~~influences~~" Matter is the only source and the final

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cause of all the processes of nature ^{since} ~~because~~ everything is constituted ^{of} ~~by~~ matter and generated by matter. Matter is eternal and infinite; it cannot be destroyed nor created, ^{so} ~~but~~ merely changes in form. In the world there is nothing beyond matter in movement in its different manifestations. The innumerable phenomena of the world that surrounds us are strictly material in nature, resulting from the movement of matter itself and having no need of any spiritual force alien to matter. Conscience itself is an attribute of highly organized matter.

Thus, Marxist philosophical materialism is opposed to idealism which considers the world as the incarnation of the "absolute idea", the "universal spirit", and "conscience." The idealists affirm that the world, ⁱⁿ order to exist, ^{non} needs ~~material forms~~. What is the ideological conception of the world? Marxist philosophical materialism shows that among the phenomena of the material world exist binding ties and interdependent relations. Objects and phenomena do not exist by chance, ^{or} ~~are not~~ isolated from one another, but ^{are} rather ^{related} ~~interrelated~~ to each other, some depending ^{ent} ~~on others~~ and some ^{being} ~~conditioned~~ by others. These ties and interdependent relations among ^{the} phenomena are the rules according to which matter in movement ^{develops} ~~evolves~~. Dialectical materialism teaches that all phenomena of nature and of society are ruled by laws. It is essential not to confuse these laws, which are philosophically contrived, with the judicial laws elaborated by governments.

What is law? It is the expression of the essential tie ^{so} ~~needed~~ by phenomena, and the reflexion in the conscience of ~~man~~ of regular objective processes which occur in nature and in society. The laws reflect the facts that objects and phenomena are not casual, possess a certain regularity, arise from determinate causes, and are the effect of a ^{development} ~~necessary evolution~~. The law determines the repetition of phenomena in the presence of relatively constant conditions.

Marxist philosophical materialism shows, therefore, that the world ^{develops} ~~evolves~~ according to the laws which rule the movement of matter, without the need of any "universal spirit", and so forth. What governs the world is the law of the ^{development} ~~evolution~~ of matter, and not God or things which assist Him. What is the importance of the application of this principle of Marxist philosophical materialism ^{to} ~~in~~ the study of social life and ^{to} ~~the~~ practical activities of the party of the proletariat? In the same way that the relation of nature's phenomena and their interdependency represent the law by which the evolution of matter is ruled, the relation and interdependency of the phenomena of social life also represent, rather than a casual occurrence, the law by which the ^{development} ~~evolution~~ of society is governed. Thus, social life and the history of society are not a collection of casual facts nor the result of the action of divine providence, as it appears to idealists. To the Marxists the history of society is the ^{development} ~~evolution~~ of society according to its laws, and the study of the history of society attains the nature of science. For this reason the practical activities of the Communist parties should not be based on the good will of "illustrious personalities" nor on the postulates of "reason", but on the laws of the ^{development} ~~evolution~~ of society and on the study of those laws.

III - The primary nature of matter, and the secondary ^{nature} of conscience.

Marxist philosophical materialism is based on the understanding that matter, nature, and being are objective realities which exist outside our conscience and independently of it.

What is objective reality? Objective reality is matter, nature, and being which exist outside human conscience and independently of it.

Objective is all that exists outside and independently of our conscience.

Subjective is all that exists in our conscience and which reflects

the objective. Objective refers to object, which is a thing outside the subject upon which the subject's conscience and activities act. Subjective is related to the subject, who is a being endowed with conscience and will.

Matter is primary since it constitutes the source from which perceptions, sensations, and conscience are derived. Conscience is secondary or derived since it is the reflected image of matter. Thought is the product of matter which attained a high degree of perfection in its ~~evolution~~^{development}; it is the product of the brain, which is the organ of thought. Thus thought cannot be separated from matter. Thought cannot exist without matter. Therefore, there is a radical contrast between Marxist philosophical materialism and idealism. Idealism asserts that only our conscience has a real existence and that the material world, nature, and ~~the~~⁶ being only exist in our conscience. Therefore idealism negates the objective existence of the exterior world and the existence of objective reality. If the exterior world ceased to reflect in the conscience of idealists, they too would cease to exist. All idealism⁶ lead⁶, therefore, to a mystical-religious conception.

Marxist philosophical materialism also combats the vulgar materialism which identifies conscience with matter. The idea that thought is also matter is completely false. The German vulgar materialists state that all the world is material and, consequently, so is thought. Thought is not matter, but rather an attribute of matter; it is a manifestation of matter. Then thought has a material context? Yes; the material context is not in thought itself, but outside, in the object which it represents. The representation of the object is merely a mental image of the real object. For this reason Marxism asserts that sensation is a subjective image of the objective world. Sensation is subjective in form and objective in context: subjective because it is formed in our conscience, and objective because its ^{context} exists outside our conscience.

Let us see how this principle applies to the study of social life and the practical activities of the party.

In the same way that nature or the material world is primary, and conscience or thought is secondary, the material life of society or social context is primary and its spiritual life or social conscience is secondary, or derived. In the same fashion that the material world constitutes the objective reality which exists independently of Man's conscience, and conscience is the reflected image of that objective reality, the material life of society is the objective reality which exists independently of Man's will, and its spiritual life is the reflexion of that objective reality, or the reflexion of the social being. From this can be inferred that it is not Man's conscience which determines his social existence, but, on the contrary, his social existence determines his social conscience. This is the fundamental thesis of historical materialism formulated by Marx and Engels, which represents a revolutionary transformation of sociology and history. Thus social ideas and theories are a reflexion of the conditions of the material life of society. Social ideas (political, juridical, moral, religious, philosophical, and others) are not rooted in the spiritual life of society itself or in the conscience of Man, but rather in the conditions of the material life of society. This thesis is of great value for the practical activities of the party of the proletariat. The party elaborates its policy starting from the recognition of the primary nature of the conditions of the material life of society, taking into consideration the fully developed necessities of the material life of society. A policy that is not based on the knowledge of the material life of society leads into "adventurism", as is the case with the Populists and the anarchists.

The primary nature of social existence does not imply that social conscience plays no role, or that it has a passive role in relation to

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In this way, Marxist philosophical materialism solves the second aspect of the fundamental question of philosophy. Is our country in condition to know the true world? In our ideas of the true world are we able to reproduce a true image of reality?

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the material life of society. Once they ^{arise} ~~arise~~ as the result of the conditions of the material life of society, social ideas play an important role. Ideas can hasten or impede the ^{development} ~~development~~ of society. Progressive ideas hasten the ^{development} ~~development~~ of society, while reactionary ideas seek to impede that ^{development} ~~development~~. When progressive ideas take root ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ the masses they are transformed into a material force.

IV - The cognoscibility of the world and its laws.

Marxist philosophical materialism sets out from the principle that the world and the laws by which it is governed are perfectly cognoscible. Our knowledge of the laws of nature, substantiated by experience, ^{by} ~~by~~ and practice, is true knowledge having the value of objective truth⁶. In the world there are no incognoscible things, but only things that still remain to be known and which science and practice will endeavor to reveal. ^{Insert} Idealism ^{still ponders on} ~~still ponders on~~ the possibility of understanding the world and the laws which govern it; it does not believe in the veracity of our knowledge, nor recognizes the objective truth (idealists believe in the existence of "things by themselves" which cannot be known).

To refute this thesis of idealists, ⁶ ~~the~~ Marxist materialism appeals to the facts of experience, which is to say, of practice and diligence. Day by day new scientific discoveries applicable to industry and technology reveal ^{to} ~~to~~ new aspects formerly unknown. The unknown is becoming known. ⁷ The Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge and the theory of reflex consider knowledge as the reflexion of ^{encompassing} ~~the surrounding~~ material reality in Man's conscience. Outside of us exist objects and phenomena which stimulate our senses. Our sensations are images of those things, and the criterion used to verify the truthfulness of the images in order to discard the false ones is practice. The process of human knowledge is not a simple direct reflexion of reality like in a mirror; knowledge is a complex and contradictory process which develops historically and evolves from ignorance to knowledge, from incomplete knowledge to more

complete knowledge, from the knowledge of phenomena to the knowledge of their essence, the laws.

Marxist philosophical materialism differs from the former [1]
materialism in that the theory of knowledge includes practice. Practice
is the basis of knowledge and the criterion of truth. Why is practice
the basis of knowledge? Because all our knowledge originates, as last
resource, from practice, and practice is the criterion of truth since it
verifies the accuracy of our knowledge.

Marxism therefore asserts that our knowledge of reality, the world
which surrounds us, can be accurate and can reflect the truth.

Objective truth is a just reflexion of objective reality in Man's
conscience. Each theory or scientific law which correctly reflects the
objective reality and is verified by experience, by practice, is an
objective truth.

What is the importance of this principle of Marxist philosophical
 materialism ^{to} for the study of the social life and the practical activity
 of the Communist Party? If the world is cognoscible and our knowledge
 of the laws which govern the evolution of nature are accurate, having
 the value of objective truths, this means that social life, the ^{development} ~~evolution~~
 of society, is capable of being known and our knowledge of the law of
social ^{development} ~~evolution~~ is accurate.

The science which studies the history of society can acquire,
 nonetheless, the complexity of the phenomena of social life, ⁶ and the
 accuracy of any natural science like biology. We can put to practical
 use the laws which govern social ^{development} ~~evolution~~. If the party follows the
 laws which govern the ^{development} ~~evolution~~ of society, it will be able to make
 accurate scientific forecasts, ⁶ and set forth scientific policies, ^{since it} ~~for it~~
knows the nature of ^{that development} ~~the evolution of society~~.

For this reason Stalin says that "socialism ceases to be a dream of
a better future for humanity, to become a science." But this knowledge

of the objective laws of social development demands from the party a close tie between science and practical activity, the unity of theory and practice. An ^{proper} ~~appropriate~~ party policy can only emerge from the generalization of revolutionary practice, and the suitability of that policy can only be verified under fire ^{of} ~~or~~ revolutionary practice.

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Next 3 Page(s) In Document Denied

The Materialist Dialectics.

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Summary:

- I - Materialist dialectics, the only scientific method for understanding the revolutionary transformation of the world.
- II - Materialist dialectics and the ~~evolution~~^{development} of phenomena.
- III - Materialist dialectics and the universal ~~connection~~^{connection} among phenomena.
- IV - The law of unity and of strife between opposites.
- V - The law of the transformation of quantitative modifications into qualitative modifications.
- VI - The law of the negation of the negation.

I - The philosophers of old understood ⁶ ~~by~~ dialectics, ^{as} the art of discovering the truth by revealing the contradictions contained in the arguments of the adversary and overcoming said contradictions. This was the source of the dialectic method of understanding nature, which consists of viewing natural phenomena as in constant movement and modification, and of considering the ~~evolution~~^{development} of nature as a result of the development of the contradictions it contains. Therefore dialectics is a method.

Method is a ^{means} ~~way~~ to obtain something; it is a mode or form of action to attain something. Method is a necessary phase of the process of knowledge; it is one of the main conditions which enable ~~Man~~ to understand nature and society. The Marxist dialectic method is based on the materialist conception of the world and cannot be separated from it. Dialectical materialism is a unique conception of the world; the materialist theory cannot be separated from the dialectic method. The

laws of knowledge which we study in the dialectic method are a reflexion, in Man's conscience, of the laws of ^{development} ~~revolution~~ applicable to all phenomena. Dialectics is essential to properly orient ^{ourselves} ~~us~~ in regard to the diversity and the essence of facts; to ^{be aware of their} ~~see the relation~~ ^{development,} ~~among them~~ and discover the laws of their transformation and ~~revolution~~, and the contradictions which are inherent to them. However dialectics does not study all the laws which govern the various phenomena of nature, society, and mind; each particular science studies the laws of a determined sector of phenomena. For example, physics studies the laws of physics -- heat, mechanics, electricity; -- chemistry studies the laws of chemistry -- compounds, atoms; and biology studies the laws of biology.

Dialectics studies the more general laws of the ^{development} ~~revolution~~ of phenomena, the laws which apply at all levels of nature, society, and mind.

Materialist dialectics is the science of the more general laws of the ^{development} ~~revolution~~ of nature, society, and mind: it is the universal method of knowledge and of revolutionary transformation of reality.

II - Materialist dialectics considers nature as subject to continual movement and constant modification, as something which constantly ^{develops} ~~evolves~~ and renews itself, and where things are always been born and ^{developing} ~~evolving~~ or dying and disappearing.

For this reason dialectical materialism demands that phenomena be examined not only from the viewpoint of their mutual relations and conditioning, but also of their movement, modification, and ^{development;} ~~revolution~~ from the viewpoint of their birth and death.

What is movement? Movement is the form of existence of matter, its more essential and inseparable form. Movement, like matter, is eternal, .../[illegible]/..., and indestructible. The world is matter in movement; matter without movement is as inconceivable as movement without matter.

Therefore it must be understood that movement is the form of matter, and that matter can only exist in movement. Matter without movement is non-existent. Matter which seems to us motionless, like stones, do suffer transformation and have, consequently, a form of movement.

The principal forms of movement are:

- mechanical movement: displacement of bodies in space.
- physical movement: heat, light, electricity, etc.
- chemical movement: union and disunion of atoms, mixture of elements.
- organic movement, ^{or} ~~as~~ [organic?] life: assimilation and disassimilation of ... [illegible] ... in the organism.
- social movement or social life: evolution of economy, culture.
- conscience:

All these forms of movement encompass all nature and are governed by their own laws. Contrary to dialectics, metaphysics considers nature as calm and motionless, as stagnant and immutable. According to metaphysicists, the world was always the same it is at present. They analyze phenomena as past occurrences and not in ^{development} ~~in evolution~~. Meanwhile, the movement taking place in nature and in society refutes the conception of metaphysicists.

This thesis of dialectical materialism on the constant ^{development} ~~evolution~~ of phenomena is of great value for the study of social life and the activity of the Communist Party.

If the world is in constant movement and ^{development} ~~evolution~~, and if the law of this ^{development} ~~evolution~~ is the elimination of the old and the invigoration of the new, it is evident that there can be no unalterable social regime, nor "eternal principles" of private ownership and exploitation, nor "eternal ideas" of submission of peasants to landowners, ^{or} ~~and~~ workers to capitalists. If dialectics considers everything is in ^{development} ~~evolution~~, it also considers that society is in constant state of modification. The various regimes of which we are aware through a study of history bear this out:

communal community, slavery, feudalism, and capitalism. From this we conclude that capitalism is not eternal and that it will be replaced by socialism. Capitalism is the old and socialism is the new, that which is flourishing. Based on dialectics the conclusion is reached that capitalism is destined to disappear.

Since dialectics analyzes all phenomena in ^{their development} ~~in evolution~~, the principal interest of the dialectic method is not that which at any given time appears solid but has already begun to decay, but rather what is ^{being} ~~born~~ and ^{develops} ~~evolves~~ even ^{when} ~~if~~ at the time it does not appear too solid. For dialectics, only what is ^{being} ~~born~~ and in a stage of ^{development} ~~evolution~~ is ... ^{invincible} ~~[illegible]~~...; this means that we should not direct our attention to the sectors of society which have already achieved their full ^{development} ~~evolution~~, even when at the time they constitute the predominant factor, but rather to those sectors which are in ^{development} ~~evolution~~ and show promise of a future, even if at the time they are not the predominant factor. In politics (Stalin used to say), to avoid being misled, it is essential to look forward and never backwards. For this reason Marxists are directed in the ^{path} ~~sense~~ of the social class in ^{development} ~~evolution~~, which is the working class. Why is the working class the more revolutionary and why should it direct the revolutionary movement of the other classes? Because the working class is closely associated to large industry. The ^{development} ~~evolution~~ of capitalism brings about the strengthening of the working class and ^{its} ~~their~~ organization. The working class is associated ^{with} ~~to~~ the progress of the large industry, and for this reason ^{it} ~~it~~ is the class of the future, the ^{leading class} ~~most~~ ^{development} ~~diligent~~. The other classes do not benefit from the ^{development} ~~evolution~~ of capitalism, on the contrary, they are weakened; in the rural areas, for example, the ^{development} ~~evolution~~ of capitalism enriches a minority while the majority is proletarianized. The working class is the ^{class in} ~~new~~ present day society, and for this reason Marxists orient themselves

toward it, in its ^{leadership} ~~direction~~. It is the class with the historical mission of destroying capitalism and setting up a new regime -- socialism.

In accordance with this dialectic principle -- the invincibility of the new -- Communists try to develop in themselves the sense of the new, that is to say, to orient themselves toward the new which arises and not toward the old which disappears.

III - Dialectical materialism considers nature as an articulated and single whole where objects and phenomena are organically associated ^{with} to each other, depend on each other, and condition each other. This means there is a general ^{to and} universal relation among the phenomena of nature and of society.

Conversely, metaphysics considers nature as a casual agglomeration of objects and phenomena, disjointed and isolated from each other, and without dependent relations among themselves. The difference between the dialectic and the metaphysic thesis is that the dialectic considers the world an articulated whole [where phenomena?] are related and dependent on each other, some being causes and others effects, while the metaphysic considers nature as a casual agglomeration of phenomena, disjointed and without a relation of cause and effect. There are idealists who deny the existence of causes, [alleging?] this was invented by men desperately trying to establish an order for the world. For example, anthropoid apes through evolution were transformed into primitive men, and these in turn into modern men. When it is said that interimperialist contradictions are the cause of wars, a relation of cause and effect is established.

This dialectic thesis is of great importance for scientific knowledge. No phenomenon of nature or of society can be understood if considered independently, unrelated to other phenomena which surround it and to the conditions under which it takes place. This is so because all phenomena are related, influenced and conditioned by each other.

If we analyze the nature of the State, in Latin America, we find out it is a reactionary dictatorship of a military clique which seized power through a coup. If we wish to discover the origin without considering economic and social conditions, we will be completely impeded. Its instability is depicted by American sociologists as resulting from climatic conditions, mixture of races, etc. However, we should analyze it from the standpoint of the semifeudal character of our economy. All the reasons they adduce [?] cannot serve as ~~the~~ basis to explain the South American regimes: for example, Brazil always had a government ...

If we do not consider the objective relation and the interdependency of phenomena, nature and society are transformed for us into a confused and chaotic heap of facts which are not governed by any rule and for which we cannot offer any rational explanation.

The relation and interdependency of phenomena, of the causes and effects, condition the orderly ^{development} ~~evolution~~ of phenomena in nature and in social life. For this reason this principle is most important for the study of social life and the practical activity of the Communist Party. It teaches us to examine all phenomena taking into consideration the conditions of time and place, that is to say, in a historical-concrete manner. All social regimes and social movements taking place in history should not be judged from the standpoint of "eternal justice," as is done by idealist historians, but from the standpoint of the conditions which gave rise to this regime or that movement, and to which they are related. For example, when capitalism came into being during the period of decay of feudalism it was a system which contributed to the advance of humanity. Today it is decadent and represents an obstacle to the progress of humanity. Its infirmity is manifest in the crises, the wars, and the ... [illegible]... of technology and of men. If we were to analyze it from the viewpoint of eternal justice, we cannot praise it because it was also

a system of oppression and exploitation even though an advance in relation to feudalism. If we do not ^{analyze} ~~proceed~~ from the historical-concrete standpoint, tremendous errors will be committed; in Latin America we shall find a number of persons ^{typifying} ~~representative of~~ the dominant class which represent ...

Therefore, that which is just and progressive under certain historical conditions will lose all sense under different circumstances.

The application of this dialectic thesis to the practical activity of the Communist Party is most important. It offers the concrete possibility of setting up tasks and watchwords fully concordant with the historical-concrete conditions of the ^{development} ~~revolution~~ of society, and of building up the strategy and ^{to} ~~the~~ tactics of the Communist Party on the basis of the ^{development} ~~revolution~~ of objective reality. The watchwords, strategy, and tactics which are justified under certain conditions cease to be so at other times and in different countries, when conditions are not the same. The importance of the thesis is that it shows the party [when?] its strategy and tactics are in accordance with conditions, and that it cannot have [the same?] watchwords apply to all situations. For example, in the Russian ... [illegible] ... bourgeois revolution the bourgeoisie was the enemy of the revolution and tended to reconcile ^{with} the czar. This was determined by the conditions in Russia, which at the time was imperialist; the bourgeoisie was imperialist and, therefore, reactionary. The national factor was lacking. In Brazil the bourgeoisie can be revolutionary for it is a semicolonial country where the bourgeoisie is oppressed by imperialism, therefore a national factor exists in the revolution. Consequently, a watchword referring to the bourgeoisie cannot be the same for Russia of 1905 and for Brazil.

Besides this, dialectics teaches how to distinguish among the numerous and different ^{relations} ~~ties~~ which ^{connect} ~~bind~~ phenomena, as to which are essential relations and ties, and which are non-essential. One should not consider

all relations between phenomena as being equal; it is essential to distinguish the principal relations, the decisive ones. Only such understanding allows, in practically ^{activity} ~~activity~~ to discover the main link among the various party tasks, the decisive link which will drag the whole chain behind it. There are hundreds of party tasks and when we discover and develop the main task, the main link of the task chain, we contribute to the solution of all others. In this regard Lenin used to say: "It is essential to know how to discover, at all times, the right chain link to grasp with all our strength, in order to control the whole chain and solidly prepare the transfer to the following link" (Fundamentals by Lenin). In Brazil, this year of elections, we considered the presidential campaign to be the decisive task and practice has shown this to be true since all other facts have proved it. All subsequent victories were the result of this.

The expression of the essential relations among phenomena are the laws which govern their development. Let us study the laws of dialectics, which are:

- I - the law of unity and of strife between opposites,
- II - the law of the transformation of quantitative modifications into qualitative modifications, and
- III - the law of the negation of the negation.

IV - The first law of dialectics.

Materialist dialectics considers that nature's objects and phenomena always have implicit internal contradictions. They have their positive and negative aspects, their past and future, their retrogressive and developmental aspects. The struggle between these opposites (comprising units within each phenomenon; the phenomena are ...[illegible]...), such as the new and the old, what ^{is dying} ~~agonizes~~ and what is being born, and what lapses and what develops, makes up the internal context of the

[REDACTED]

development process. The development process does not take place in a smooth fashion, but rather manifesting at all times the characteristic contradictions of objects and phenomena through the conflict between opposite tendencies. Take society and its development for example. Society is always found to be divided into opposites, the classes. Its development is correlated with the struggle between these opposites and, at the same time, the unity of these opposites. Class struggle motivates history. The struggle brings revolutions, and these the development of society. The development of society is therefore the outcome of the struggle between its opposites, its contradictions. In mathematics, plus and minus, positive and negative; in mechanics [?], action and reaction; in chemistry, the union and dissociation of atoms; and in physics, positive and negative charges. Lenin pointed out that the law of unity and of conflict between opposites is the essence of Marxist dialectical materialism. This law reveals the origin of all development, which are the internal contradictions. Development is not possible without the occurrence and the overcoming of contradictions.

The idealist or metaphysical conception of development negates the existence of contradictions in phenomena; according to it, development is caused by an external force which can only be God, even when it bears a different name.

The materialist dialectic conception considers development as self-motivated. What is the impelling force of this self-motivation? It is not an external force, but the struggle of internal contradictions which exist in the phenomenon itself. As an example, why does society develop? Society develops because it has contradictions which overcome each other in struggle.

The law of the unity of opposites is very important for understanding social life. Social life in the society of antagonistic classes is full of contradictions and conflicts. The interests of some members of this

society
 quarrel with those of other members. Marxism showed that the source of contradicting interests and antagonistic struggles in class society is the radical difference in the situation and living conditions of the classes. For example, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie were created by the capitalist form of production, and within the framework of that economy ^{together} they are tied in such fashion that only the existence of these two classes makes possible the capitalist form of production. Thus the proletariat and capitalism form a unit of opposites since they simultaneously preclude and oppose each other, engaging in irreconcilable struggle. This shows us that the class struggle of the proletariat is a natural and inevitable phenomenon.

From the law of unity and of strife between opposites are drawn important conclusions for party policy and tactics. If the conflict between opposites is the decisive factor in overcoming contradictions, this means that the conscience, organization, and will of the people are very important in the struggle to overcome contradictions; then we should not fear contradictions, but should uncover and overcome them in struggle; should not hide or appease the contradictions of the capitalist regime, but rather uncover and aggravate them; and should not appease the class struggle, but rather carry it to an end. The theory of neutralization of contradictions is the basis of all opportunism, reformism, and betrayal of the working class. Reformists, socialists of the right, and dupes preach class collaboration and social peace, - all this is ...

The Communist Party should maintain an intransigent class policy instead of a reformist policy.

V - The second law of dialectics.

Dialectics reveals that the development of phenomena is a process of change from quantitative modifications, insignificant and obscure,

to qualitative modifications, evident and radical. These transformations
are not produced in gradual form, but rather suddenly and in the form
of leaps from one state of affairs to another. These transformations
do not occur casually, but in accordance with laws and as a result of
the accumulation of a series of hidden and gradual quantitative
modifications. As an example, the transformation of water into steam,
and into ice. When water is heated, that is, changed quantitatively,
its temperature increases until it reaches a certain point (100 degrees
C) and then it is transformed into steam. Similarly, when we cool it...

Metaphysics denies all this. It asserts that movement is simply
a decrease or an increase of all that exists, that is, scarcely a
quantitative process without any radical or revolutionary qualitative
modifications.

This dialectic law is very important for the study of society.
Applying to social life the thesis that slow quantitative modifications
are transformed into abrupt qualitative modifications, we discover that
the revolutionary transformations effected by the oppressed classes are
absolutely normal and inevitable phenomena. Revolution is a leap from
the quantitative to the qualitative state. The slow and gradual
modifications keep accumulating ~~PS~~ until at a given moment the
revolution occurs, which is to say, the leap or qualitative transformation.
This shows us that nothing is gained by adducing it is a crime to instigate
a revolution, for it is natural, essential, and inevitable.

This dialectic law teaches us that the transformation of capitalism
into socialism, for example, is not possible by way of reforms which
introduce small quantitative modifications in capitalism. Only a
revolution, the revolutionary leap, can destroy capitalism and create
conditions favorable for the new society. It is clear that fighting for
reforms in capitalism is struggling for quantitative modifications: with
all modifications it would still remain capitalism. For this reason

Stalin said "in politics, to prevent mistakes, one must be revolutionary and not reformist."

However, materialist dialectics does not deny the existence and necessity of gradual or evolutionary development. Dialectical materialism teaches that movement has two forms: evolutionary (evolution) and revolutionary (revolution). Quantitative modifications, insignificant and hidden, take place in evolutionary or gradual form, while qualitative modifications are effected in leaps or ⁱⁿ revolutionary form. Therefore evolution cannot be separated from revolution since they are necessarily correlated. Real development is the unity of evolution and revolution. Movement is evolutionary when progressive elements spontaneously carry out their daily tasks and introduce small quantitative modifications into the old order. "Movement is revolutionary when these elements unite and, convinced of a single idea, hurl themselves against the enemy camp to eradicate the old order, effect qualitative modifications, and establish a new order. Evolution prepares for the revolution, creating conditions for it; revolution completes evolution and contributes to its subsequent task." This is very important for the party because it shows that evolution and revolution cannot be negated, since both are phenomena necessary for the development of society. The evolutionary movement creates the conditions for the revolution. In Brazil, for example, the quantitative growth of the degree of organization and conscience of the working class, the quantitative growth of the party and [its?] organization, and the Party ideological [growth?].

There can be no revolution without evolution. Opportunists negate revolution and only recognize evolution, the gradual reforms within capitalism. They only care for 5 more holidays, more ... [illegible] ..., a 20-percent increase ^{in the} share of the profits, and so forth.

Bernstein used to say that "movement is everything, the objective is nothing." That is why dupes [?] adhere to unions and struggles,

without final objective.

Anarchists negate evolution. They boast of revolution in words. They deny the need of organization and gradual preparation of the masses for revolutionary action. They despise what they call the "trivial" task of mobilizing and educating the masses for the revolutionary battle. [Illegible]... in practice, the anarchist movement would have the workers movement disarmed at the time of the revolution. This attitude of the anarchists results in not having everything possible done for the revolution at all times.

VI - The third law of dialectics.

Materialist dialectics considers that the development of nature and of society is progressive in character. The process of development is not conceived by dialectics as a circular movement, but rather as a movement in ascending line, as the evolution from the simple to the complex and from the inferior to the superior. This ascending movement is conditioned by the change of quantitative modifications into qualitative ones. By the dialectic condition of the negation of the old, that which ^{is dying} ~~negates~~, and by the appearance of the new. All revolutionary leaps imply the negation of a prior qualitative state, which in turn had negated some other qualitative state when it appeared. That is why it is called the negation of the negation. As an example, socialism negates capitalism and becomes a new qualitative state in relation to it, but capitalism in turn had already negated feudalism. From feudalism to capitalism, and from capitalism to socialism there is an ascending, ^{higher} ~~superior~~ movement.

The change from old into new qualities does not necessarily mean the destruction of what was created earlier. The dialectic interpretation of negation, said Lenin, is not pure negation or the simple elimination of all that is old. "In dialectics, to negate does not mean simply to say no, nor to declare a thing nonexistent or destroy it by all means."

For example, socialism is a radical destruction of the capitalist regime, but this decisive negation of the old implies at the same time the conservation of all that is positive and valuable created under capitalism, like productive forces and advanced culture.

The law of the negation of the negation was formulated by Hegel, but the difference of principles which exist between Marxist and Hegel's dialectics should be taken into consideration.

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25X1

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Next 6 Page(s) In Document Denied

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AS A SCIENCE .

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- I. The Purpose of Historical Materialism.
- II. The Beginning of Historical Materialism, a Revolution in Science.
- III. Historical Materialism and the Laws of Social Development.
- IV. Historical laws and the Conscient^{as} Activities of Man.
- V. The Spirit of the Party of Historical^Materialism.

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I. What material is studied by Historical Materialism? Historical Materialism is the extension of the theses of Dialectical Materialism, it is the study of Life; the application of the theories of Dialectical Materialism to the phenomenon of Society, to the study of Society, to the study of the history of Society. Historical materialism is the gateway to the science of the most fundamental laws of the development of Society. Various social sciences study this or that isolated aspect of social life. For example: Political Economics studies economic relationships; Linguistics (studies) the development of languages; Esthetics, the laws of the development of the arts, etc.. Historical Materialism studies the laws of the development of Society as a whole, the relationships between all aspects of social life.

Does Historical^Materialism answer certain questions; does it define the nature of social systems, what conditions the development of Society, what opens the way to one social system or another, etc.? It is important not to confuse Historical Materialism with History. History simply reflects all the concrete facts concerning events which can be verified about the social life of various countries, while, on the other hand, Historical Materialism tries to discover the fundamental laws of the historical process. Historical Materialism provides the only true, scientific answers to the most fundamental problems of social science. Within social life, we

discern economic, political and ideological relationships. Is there a clearly defined relationship between these factors? What is the nature of this relationship? Social science must answer this. Another question: among the variety of historical accounts, is an interpretive bond necessary, do laws operate, or does social life operate by chance? Still another question: how does Humanity travel the long road of historical development from the primitive community, to the feudal and the capitalist states, to socialist victory in a large part of the world; what forces motivate this development?

What is the role of scientific law in the development of society; does it serve as a method of understanding society and, moreover, as a method for transforming it, a method of revolutionary action? It is the one sure ideological weapon of the Communist Party. Historical Materialism arms the fighters by providing them with understanding of the development of society, strengthens their orientation, clarifies their perspective. It permits them to understand how a situation develops, to grasp the meaning of events and understand their subsequent development. For example: on the basis of Lenin's theses on imperialism, the leadership of the CPSU is avoiding involvement in a world war. He has shown how the unequal political and economic development of the capitalist countries leads to contradictions, war, and conflict.

To be a conscient^{ous} participant of great historical^{ous} fight for Communism, it is necessary to understand the motivating forces behind historical events and to understand all the laws of social development.

II. -- The Beginnings of Historical Materialism, a Revolution in Science.

Before the rise of Historical Materialism, there predominated a sort of feudal social life, idealistic and pseudoscientific concepts of History and Society. The idealistic concept of History lasted for several centuries.

We find in this the roots of a feudalistic slave society. The ancient Greek and Roman eras, the ideology of feudal society, the doctrines of the Church fraudulently gave as the causes for historical events, political reverses, wars, the backwardness and collapse of some countries and the rise of others, the will of Divine Providence or the sins of the nation, and the military chiefs felt that they, too, could explain their personality defects as the will of the Most High, of Divine Providence, etc.. The bourgeoisie philosophers, historians, and sociologists, the apostles of the feudal ideology of the Church, tried to give a "natural" as well as a religious explanation of the progress of the history of social life. They were seeking, are still seeking, these "natural" causes for historical events and the motivating forces of History in the minds of men, in the domain of consciousness, in the sphere of ideas. Lenin said that the earlier historical theories of Marx contained two principal defects: a) in many instances they barely took into consideration the ideological bases of Man's earlier history; did not seek or bring out these motives; did not perceive the laws of the development of a system of social relations; did not consider as the root of these relationships the development of great material production; and, b) the earlier theories were not properly based on the masses of the population; they considered History to be the result of the activities of certain important men. This can be said of the History of Brazil where everything is explained as the result of the acts of men.

Marx's earlier theories were not able to penetrate the essence of historical development and discover the relationships which governed Lenin's philosophy. In an incomplete, barely discernable manner, this superficiality of understanding can be observed. When he alludes superficially to History, he seems to us to be concerned with personalities, while it is behind these personalities that we must see, that are to be found, the laws or social forces which govern.

Neither the idealistic philosophers and historians nor the materialistic bourgeois philosophers maintained an idealistic concept of History. At first glance, the bourgeois materialist philosophers -- the French philosophers of the 18th Century, the encyclopaedists who were the ideologists of the bourgeoisie -- seemed to give scientific and natural explanations for social phenomena. They affirmed that Society, like all things in nature, is conditioned by many causes and bound together by the necessary chain of cause and effect. They did not comprehend the main causes of events and reduced History itself to mere chance. Holbach was an encyclopaedist, a materialist who tried to explain History as follows: "The excess of doubt in a fanatic's mind, the hot anger in the heart of a conqueror, the digestion of a priest, the caprice of a woman, all were sufficient reasons, for many centuries, for a war to begin, to send thousands of men on campaign, to plunge men, like straws in the wind, into calamity and despair." Thus, the history of human society was described as a series of accidents. Not comprehending the material causes behind the development of the social fabric, the bourgeois historians erroneously gave as the cause of the change in attitudes, the development of reason, the spread of learning, and attributed to the lawmakers and the law the decisive role in the spread of education. One of the French materialists said that in the same way that a sculptor can shape a statue out of wood, the legislator, by drafting good or evil laws, could make men good or evil; a great leader could carry the nation to the heights, while a bad one can bring ruin upon it.

For example, Peter I of Russia civilized the nation, but he did not understand the social forces that brought about the political changes.

Prior to Marx, Materialism suffered from inconsequentiality; it was crude Materialism, a sort of mixture of materialism and idealism which did not explain the history of Society.

Early Materialism gave as the reasons for the transformation of Society, the activities of ideologians, the originators of new ^{social} ideas and

philosophies. As for the mass of the people, the idealists maintained a class relationship, an attitude of deprecation, regarding them as formless "inferior masses" that were barely fit to wear the chains of their leaders, the great personages. The idealist concept of History is an ideological weapon of the bourgeoisie against the people, against Socialism. Rejecting the struggle of the working classes for a radical change in the material conditions of social life, idealism transferred the struggle to the sphere of ideas, substituting the illusion that it is possible to modify living conditions by means of universal perfection, and considered the oppressed working class as passive. It therefore accepted the theory that the abolition of the slavetrade was a magnanimous act of the princes. *[lower sentence illegible]*

The discovery of the concept of Historical Materialism provided a positive basis for analysis of the acute contradictions of bourgeois society, departing from the traditions of the privileged class and adopting the genuinely revolutionary one of the proletariat. In creating Historical Materialism, Marx and Engels made a great discovery that was epoch-making in the development of scientific thinking. Thanks to this discovery, History became a science. Historical Materialism, which, as the science which provided laws for social development, is itself the product of social life, rose as the reflection of the now mature development of the material life of Society, as a result of the development of the class struggle.

Historical Materialism is tightly bound up with Dialectical Materialism. Dialectical Materialism is not a concept of no real consequence which has no application to the understanding of Society, which has no application to the strategy and tactics of the proletarian class struggle. On the contrary, Historical Materialism would be impossible without Dialectical Materialism as a general philosophic basis. If the world is understandable and if our understanding of the laws that govern the development of the nature of events is correct, ~~it~~ it has true objective validity. That is to say, both

social life and the understanding of society are capable of being understood, granted that we are given, scientifically, the information concerning the laws of the development of Society; that is, the objective truth.

III.--Historical Materialism and the Laws of Social Development.

The fundamental problem of philosophy, the problem of the relationships between the being and the consciousness, is the principal, fundamental problem of social science. Guiding themselves by the theses of materialist philosophy, Marx and Engels came to the conclusion that it is not social consciousness that determines the social structure, but, on the contrary, it is the social structure that shapes social consciousness. "It is Nature, the being, the material world that is first and, consequently, thought is secondary, is derived from it". It is the material world that creates objective reality since it is only the material life of Society that exists. It is also the prelude, and its spiritual life is the secondary, the derived, thing of which the material life of society gives knowledge. It is objective reality which exists independently of the mind of Man. The spiritual life of Society is the reflection of this objective reality, the reflexion of existence."

Like every great discovery, Marx's discovery is really simple. Marx's explanation of the condition and the development of Society divulged a simple fact of life. This fact is that, before occupying himself with politics, science, art or religion, Man desire to eat, to drink, to clothe himself, and to house himself. To obtain these necessities of life, Man must produce. The means of production of material goods, that is to say, the means of producing food, clothing, shoes, articles of daily use, the instruments of production, are the principal factors in the system which conditions Society's material life; the factors that define the existence of Society, its stature and its development. It is not this or that idea, concept, or theory, but the means of production of material goods that are

the determining factor of social development, the factor that shapes the physiognomy of Society, its ideas, its political concepts, theories and their corresponding institutions...the State, the ~~one word~~ ^{inevitable}. It is in accordance with the characteristics of the means of production that the spiritual life of Society is shaped. In different periods of its history, Society is dominated by different ideas and social concepts. This is explained by the differences in the material conditions of the society's life. A transformation in the means of production produces a transformation in social ideas, politics and juridical institutions and concepts, philosophy, religion, etc. in the nation. "Social production lends initiative to the substitution of norms in view of certain essential relationships, independently of will; produce relationships ^{which} ~~that~~ suit that certain phase of development of the forces of material production. Together, these production relationships shape the economic status of Society; are the real basis on which is raised the juridical and political superstructure, and to which certain social structures conform. The system of production of material goods conditions every phase of social, political, and spiritual life. It is not Man's will that shapes his existence but, on the contrary, it is his social existence that shapes his will. Upon reaching a certain stage of development, the material productive forces come into conflict with the previously existing production conditions, which is merely a juridical expression of how the property relationships [conflict] with those previously existing. The forms of the development of the productive forces are then transformed, and there is begun an era of social revolution. The economic base being changed, the entire superstructure erected on it is then transformed, slowly in some of its aspects and more rapidly in others. When these changes are studied, one must always distinguish between material changes effected in the economic means of production, which can be distinguished as the direct results of materialist science, and the juridical, political, religious, artistic, or philosophic; in a word, ideological changes which men regard as the consequences of this conflict or struggle. Just as one should not

judge the individual by what he thinks or says of himself, one should not try to judge these times of change by one's own conscience but, on the contrary, the conscience should be explained by the contradictions of material life, by the constant struggle between the productive relationships and the productive forces. No social form disappears until there are developed within it all the productive forces contained in it, and ^{new and} higher forms of productive relationships never arise until material conditions ^{have matured} reach ~~their lowest level~~ within the old society. Therefore, Humanity always raises for itself goals which it can achieve, firmly fixed things. We note that these goals emerge only when there already are, or are beginning to appear, conditions suitable for them.

The problem of the role of the popular masses in History is also resolved by Historical Materialism. Once the history of Society represents, above all, the transformation of the means of production of material goods and the principal productive force is the producer of the material goods -- the workers -- then the history of Society becomes, in essence, the history of the popular masses, the history of the people, the history of the workers. The people are the principal motivating force of History. Historians prior to Marx were unable to comprehend the innumerable acts of ^{millions} ~~some of these~~ men because they considered ^{the activity} ~~them~~ ^{or as} ~~separately~~ and not the forces ^{which were working} ~~behind them~~ [illegible].

Historical Materialism ^{ed} explains the actions of men. Isolated actions are, ultimately, dependent on the actions of the great masses, of the social classes which are distinguishable by their attitude towards the means of production, by their distinctive position in the system of social production.

Historical Materialism considers each historical event [in its] social framework, not isolatedly, and as bound to the condition which gave it birth. Discovering that the means of production are the key to ^{the development of} ~~could establish~~ understanding Society, Marx ~~added statutes~~ ^{could establish} to the ~~basic~~ law of social

life, ^{of} ~~to~~ the history of Society. Since the historians and sociologists regarded the ideas and activities of this or that well-known man as the principal cause of social development, it was impossible to discover the law, the essential internal ties in the development of social life. History appeared to these historians to be the inevitable result of individual tendencies, as the inevitable result of wills, of actions which conflicted with themselves, reciprocally, in the end as the result of innumerable accidents. Science, however, eliminates chance. The task of science is to discover, behind the real or imaginary chances, the essential internal ties, the laws. Any other form of history ~~ix~~ would be ^h chaos, guesswork.

Historical law represents, expresses, the essential internal ties between the social forces, ties that show their internal nature. Like natural laws, social law expresses the stable element in the relationships within a flexible phenomenon which is repeated with a certain regularity and essential sequence. Thus, a given social régime gives rise to certain consequences. In order that these consequences may be adjusted, it is necessary to proclaim the causes that gave them birth. To abolish unemployment, the everpresent crisis of overproduction, wars, it is necessary to abolish capitalism because all these things are the results of capitalist laws. Man's forgetfulness of the social laws always brings its consequences. Those who work in opposition to the social law, opposing themselves to the objective trend of historical development, will not reach their goals; they will fail. Thus is explained the failures of many "talented" men of the dominant classes.

Perforce, the Communist parties see to it that in their practical activities, the struggle, they conform to the laws of social development, not oppose them, and utilize them ^{consciously} effectively.

IV.-- Historical Laws and the Conscio^{ous} Activities of Man.

Everything that takes place in Nature is, spontaneously, subjected to

trial. History and Society judge differently. History is made by men endowed with consciousness and free will. Being metaphysicists, the bourgeoisie sociologists and historians can not grant recognition of this fact ^{as} ~~new~~ of objective social laws. Many of them state that careful study of Man excludes the possibility of the existence of objective historical laws; that is, laws independent of the will of Man. According to them, it is not possible to establish laws for social forces because events depend on the will of important men, on their caprices, and on other accidental factors and, therefore, the course of History can be radically altered by the persons alluded to; the legislators, the rulers, the military leaders. Actually, in every aspect of social life, there appear men with a will and determination who seek set objectives, and who in some way exclude historical necessity, law. Glancing superficially at Society, the accidental events strike the eye. A more profound analysis shows that the accidental happening are brought about by necessity. The trend in social development is not determined by the wills of men, by their desires. Men cannot, clearly, develop ^{arbitrarily} ~~on their own~~ a social or political system. Their activity, desires, and will are determined by the material conditions of life, by the productive forces, and by the existing production relationships; by their class status, by the depth and contrast of class contradictions, by the correlation of class forces, etc. And this is how, at times, "History" manifests itself. Does this mean that we consider men to be passive or casual participants? The bourgeoisie critics try to point out certain contradictions in Marxism. They say: "Marxism considers Society to be historically necessary and inevitable and, at the same time, organizes a revolutionary party to fight for socialism. ^{one of those} ~~A French~~ sociologist says: "If socialism came about in accordance with law, it would not be necessary to fight for it; if socialism were really inevitable, a party would not be founded to fight for it. No one founds a party to fight for Spring and Summer."

This critic is an idiot because the arrival of Spring and Summer does

not depend on the activity of Man; these things existed before men came into being. On the other hand, without Man's activities, the events of History would not be possible. At times, History is not formed isolatedly from the activities of Man, but rather by his activities; at times there ^{the substitution} appears a social system ^{for example, capitalism} of ~~non-capitalistic characteristics~~ which signifies that the masses are being awakened by their own living conditions to fight to install a new regime. There arises in the progressive classes a comprehension of the class struggle, of the need to abolish the old system and set up a new regime that is based on the material conditions [of life], that will break the bonds of the old society. (~~same parenthetical note - illegible~~)

V.- The Spirit of the Party of Historical Materialism.

The bourgeois sociologists defend their so-called objectivity; that is to say, the characteristics of the classes and parties of social science. Thus they try to disguise the bourgeois nature of their "science." If the bourgeois sociologists openly acknowledged the bourgeois nature of their theories, this would cause the working masses not to accept their theories. They, therefore, try to represent their theories as being impartial. In reality, all these bourgeois theories defend the case against socialism. Bourgeois objectivity is a mask to hide the partisan nature of bourgeois doctrines. Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin never hid the spirit of the Party of Marx and Lenin. Historical Materialism is a profoundly partisan science;

it is the theoretical weapon of the working classes and the Communist Party.

The march of historical development ^{contradicts} ~~is opposed~~ to the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie and their ideologists are, more and more, comprehending this and, therefore, ^{are} ~~seeking~~ to defend their interests, [1/11/49/6/12], are boldly distorting reality. The spirit of the bourgeois party, therefore, ^{leads to subjectivity} ~~spurns objectivity~~, is arbitrary toward History and sociology. On the other hand, the Party of the Proletariat assures a more profound, more objective, impartial, and complete understanding of the laws of social life. Only the working class, whose interests coincide with the objective march of historical development, takes an active interest in objective understanding; that is, in understanding reality. It is for this reason that authentic science ^{coincides with} ~~is found in~~ the spirit of the Communist Party.

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Next 5 Page(s) In Document Denied

Summary:

25X1

I - The conditions of the material life of society

- a) geographical medium
- b) growth of population
- c) form of production

II - Form of production, force which determines social development

- a) productive forces
- b) production relations
- c) development of forms of production

III - Law of ^{inevitable} ~~compulsory~~ correspondence between production relations and the nature of productive forces

- a) dialectics of the development of production relations and productive forces
- b) development of productive forces and production relations in the different socio-economic structures
- c) productive forces and production relations in the socialist society
- d) action of the law of ^{inevitable} ~~compulsory~~ correspondence in Brazil

I - By applying the theses of philosophical materialism to social life, Marx and Engels reached the conclusion it is not social conscience which determines social being, but on the contrary, social being determines social conscience.

Materialist philosophy teaches that nature, being, the material world is primary, while conscience, thought, is secondary or derived. The material world is an objective reality which exists independently of man's conscience, and conscience is a reflexion of that objective reality.

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The place where the spiritual life of society is shaped, and the source of social ideas and theories and political conceptions and institutions, should not be sought in the ideas, theories, conceptions and institutions themselves but in the conditions of the material life of society and in the social being of which all these are a reflexion.

This viewpoint teaches us how to study society, the history of society, and where to look for the causes of social phenomena and the development of society.

We can understand the internal plot of social phenomena only if our study [?] begins with the form of production of society. Idealism is false because it does not start ... [illegible] ... example of Carlyle, who pretended to study the history of humanity [?] giving the influence of great men as a factor of its development; Nietzsche, going deep

Which are the conditions of the material life of society that ultimately determine its phenomena, ideas, and political institutions? Regarded as such are the geographical medium, the growth of population, and the form of production of material goods.

a) - Nature which encompasses society, the geographical medium, is one of the essential conditions of the material life of society. The term geographical medium includes the territorial extension of a country, its geographical location, ... [illegible] ... (soil, fauna, flora, ... [illegible] ..., rivers, etc.).

The geographical medium will influence the development of society, accelerating or retarding it, since the medium constitutes the natural basis of the process of production. We will not be able to understand the form of production without [considering?] the geographical medium. On the extent of the medium depends the capability of the people to develop the form of production. For example, the inhabitants of the tropical and polar regions had their development retarded. In those places the inhabitants remained in the first phase of development for some

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time. The truth is that nature is prodigal in the tropics, allowing the inhabitants an easy form of existence without demanding much working capacity. In the polar regions the inhabitants must continually struggle for their existence, which prevents them from other activities. Meanwhile the temperate regions, lacking the facilities of the tropical and the shortcomings of the polar, developed more rapidly.

Engels used to say that

Then, is it the geographical medium the fundamental factor which determines the character of society, the nature of the socialist regime and of man, and the transition from one regime to another? No, the influence of the geographical medium on society is not the determinant; the transformations and development of society take place with incomparable greater swiftness than the transformations of the geographical medium. Millions of years are needed for the geographical medium to effect a transformation of any importance, while in a few hundreds or thousands of years the most important transformation can take place in the social regime. What remains immutable for tens of thousands of years cannot be the fundamental cause of the development of society, which goes through radical transformations in a few hundreds of years.

In conclusion, the geographical medium is one of the conditions of the material life of society; it accelerates or retards the march of social development, but is not the determinant factor of that development. In the last 3,000 years Europe has seen the transition of three social regimes -- slavery, feudalism, and capitalism -- and in the meantime, what transformations have taken place in the geographical medium? They were so insignificant that geography failed to register them. On the other hand, different social regimes exist under identical geographical conditions.

The trend [?] of geographical materialism [?] pretends to explain the development of peoples as a geographical factor. This is

a weapon of imperialism to justify the exploitation of colonial countries. Nazis accepted geopolitics -- currently a weapon of American imperialists -- which was a medley of geographical materialism incremented by the geographical need of expansion, the "vital space."

b) - The growth of population, its increase or decrease in density, is another factor included in the conditions of the material life of society, since such life is impossible without a minimum determinant of human beings. The growth of population influences the development of society by easing or hindering it. This means that the size \int of the population has a bearing on the development of human society. The military strength of a nation depends on its density of population. The USSR, for example, had to increase its population in order to be able to exploit the resources of determinate regions.

Is the growth of population the main force which determines the nature of the social regime and the development of society? No, the influence of an increase of population or its density is not a determinant factor of social development. The growth of population by itself does not explain why a given social regime is precisely substituted by a determinate new regime, and not by some other; if growth of population was the determinant factor of social development, a greater density of population would perforce involve a proportionately higher type of social regime, which does not happen in practice.

In conclusion, growth of population cannot be the main factor of the development of society, nor the factor which determines the nature of the social regime. Growth of population does not explain why capitalism replaced feudalism. \int The social development of a country is not always in direct proportion to its density of population. \int Belgium, for example, whose density of population is 26 times greater than that of the USSR, is not as developed as the USSR.

c) - Historical materialism teaches that the main factor and

determinant of the development of society is the form of production of the material goods of society.

Form of production is the manner of obtaining the livelihood needed for the existence of man -- food, clothing, ^{housing} ~~shelter~~, instruments of production, etc.

The form of production of material goods is the main factor which determines the structure and development of society.

II - Form of production.

Form of production comprises two inseparable elements: 1) productive forces, and 2) production relations.

a) - Productive forces are the aspects of social production which reflect the relation between society and the forces of nature, against which society must struggle to obtain the material goods needed for its existence. To subsist, man must have food, clothing, shelter, etc. He produces food by acting on nature, modifying and adapting it to satisfy his needs. In agriculture, for example, man struggles against nature to adapt it to his needs; by planting, sowing, etc., man modifies nature to benefit himself. This comes as a result of man's need to live and develop.

Productive forces consist of the following elements: 1) the instruments of production which help produce material goods, and 2) the men who operate these instruments and produce material goods, aided by their productive experience and labor habits.

Men are distinguished in their labor habits by the instruments they use. When we study productive forces we become familiar with the instruments that man utilizes to produce the material wealth of society. For example.....

b) - Production relations are the aspects of social production made up by the relations among the men ~~engaged~~ in the process of production.

Men do not struggle against nature or utilize it separately, independently from each other, but rather joined in a group or in society. That is why production is always social, under any conditions.

Since primitive times men have established relations or ties with each other in order to produce. Men associate to produce and therefore production not only refers to the relations between man and nature, but also to those among men as a group. Those are the aspects known as production relations.

By studying production relations we understand what ... [illegible] ... the means of production.

Production relations include the following aspects: 1) form of ownership of the means of production; 2) situation of the different social groups in production, and their mutual relations; and 3) form of distribution of the products.

The first of these aspects is the principal since it determines the nature of the relations as well as of the social regime. By the first we can tell which is the existing regime. By the second we can uncover the groups or classes, whether proletarian, artisan, kolkhoz worker, or peasant; this aspect is subordinate to the first, or basic aspect; the form in which

History describes five main types of production relations: primitive communal, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, and socialism. This does not mean that all nations go through these stages: the Germanic barbarian peoples did not know slavery, and other peoples did not know or omitted capitalism. This knowledge is most important for revolutionary struggle.

c) - Production never stagnates for long periods. It develops constantly. Man utilizes different forms of production in the various phases of social development; the form of production varies and suffers modification in the course of history. Marx said that "what distinguishes one economic period from another is not what was produced, but rather

how it was produced." These changes which occur in the form of production inevitable produce the transformation of all social regimes and ideas and political conceptions and institutions. The history of the development of society is, above all, that of the development of production, the history of the forms of production which succeed each other. The history of the development of productive forces and of production relations among men.

One of the characteristics of social production is its constant development. But we cannot differentiate societies by what they produce. As an example, man has been producing textiles for many years but there is a great difference between the era when he spun and wove at home using a spindle, and the era of the automatic loom; and between the era when wheat was planted with the use of a stick, and the era of the automatic sowing and threshing machines.

The history of the development of society is, first of all, the history of the development of the form of production. Hence it is also the history of the producers, the history of the masses. The key to the study of society must be found in the form of production. Among the more important laws is that of compulsory correspondence between production relations and the nature of productive forces.

III -

a) - The law of ^{inevitable} ~~compulsory~~ correspondence between production relations and the nature of productive forces was discovered by Marx and Engels. This is the economic law of the development of society and ~~is~~ a general sociological law, that is to say, which applies to all socio-economic formations. Marx formulated the following two theses in relation to this law:

a) - Production relations correspond to a certain level of development of the material productive forces of society. For this reason production relations constitute the form of development

of the productive forces.

b) - At a certain level of development the productive forces surpass the existing production relations, entering into contradiction with the production relations under which they developed. The production relations, which formerly were forms of development of the productive forces, then become fetters for the productive forces. A period of social revolution commences. The revolution modifies the economic foundation of society and replaces old production relations for new ones which correspond to the nature of the productive forces in growth, thus favoring their development.

An example of the first thesis is the primitive communal regime, where men owned crude instruments and hundreds of them had to associate to slay a dinosaur: this demanded collective ownership of the instruments.

Stalin elaborated on these theses and demonstrated that the development of production always starts by the transformation and development of the productive forces and, primarily, of the instruments of production. The productive forces constitute the more dynamic and revolutionary element of production. Production relations are altered subject to these transformations of the productive forces, and in conformity with them. Production relations cannot remain for long retarded in connection with productive forces, since the latter can only develop fully when the production relations correspond with their nature and clear the path for their development.. Productive forces are, therefore, a determinant element of the development of production. But production relations are not a passive aspect of the form of production: though their development depends on that of the productive forces, production relations in turn influence the development of the productive forces, accelerating or retarding it. New production relations hasten productive forces and.....

New production relations do not appear independent of the old regime

or after its disappearance, but rather take form within the old regime not as a result of any premeditated or conscious action of man, but spontaneously, unconsciously, and independently of human will. But this does not apply to the socialist production relations, which fail to arise or develop within a capitalist regime. This happens because the basis of the capitalist regime is the capitalist private ownership of the means of production, and socialist relations cannot arise or develop within a regime where private ownership of the means of production prevails and production relations are of domination and subordination. For this reason the proletarian revolution marks the beginning of socialist transformations, while bourgeois revolutions merely complete the development of the bourgeois form of production which already coexisted with the feudal form of production.

The law of ^{inevitable} compulsory correspondence between the productive forces and the nature of the production relations ~~demands~~ demands that old production relations be replaced by new ones in accordance with the level of the productive forces; but since such substitution is an objective necessity, it cannot occur in automatic or spontaneous fashion nor by "purely" ... ^{economic} ~~illegible~~ ... processes. Such substitution demands the conscientious intervention of the new progressive classes which are always the defenders of the new production relations. The law determines the objective necessity, but since man acts in social life there is, then, the necessity of the subjective factor: conscience.

b) - In the primitive communal regime the basis of production relations was the social ownership of the means of production. This, in substance, corresponded to the nature of the productive forces at the time. Stone implements and the bow and arrow, which appeared later, precluded the possibility of independently struggling against the forces of nature and the wild beasts. To avoid death by starvation, devoured by beasts, or at the hands of neighboring tribes, the men of that period were forced

to toil in common and that was the way they gathered fruit in the forest, organized fishing, and built their dwellings. This work in common led to common ownership of the means of production as well as of the products. Private ownership of the means of production had not made an appearance yet, except for personal ownership of some utensils which were both work tools and weapons for defense against wild beasts. Exploitation or classes did not exist at that time either.

Under the slavery regime the basis of the production relations was the slaveholders ownership of the means of production as well as of the producers -- the slaves, whom the slaveholders could buy, sell, or kill like so much cattle. These production relations were, fundamentally, in keeping with the state of the productive forces during this time. Now, in place of stone instruments, man possessed metal instruments. In place of that primitive economic misery based on hunting and fishing, which never led to agriculture and cattle raising, there was now agriculture and cattle raising, artisan shops, and a division of work among these diverse branches of production. There were possibilities to trade products among the various individuals and the diverse societies and the chance for some persons to accumulate riches. In effect, there arose the idea of accumulating the means of production in the hands of a minority and consequently the possibility that the minority subjugate the majority and convert the majority into slaves. There was no longer the free work in common of all members of society within the production process but the forced labor of the exploited slaves by the slaveholders who did not work. The policy of social ownership of the means of production and of the products does not exist. Private property is substituted for social property. The slaveholder is the first and basic property owner with full rights.

Rich and poor, exploiters and exploited, men with full rights and men devoid of all rights; the furious struggles of one class against the others, such is the picture of the slavery rule.

Under the feudal regime, the basis of the production relations is the ownership of the feudal lord of the means of production and his partial ownership of the producers -- the serfs -- whom he had the right to sell and buy but could no longer kill. Along with the feudal property, there is the personal property of the peasants and the artisans of the instruments of work and of the land to the extent of private industry, based on personal work. These production relationships were, fundamentally, in keeping with the state of the productive forces during this period. The progressive improvements in casting and working metals, the wider use of the iron plow and of the loom, the progress in agriculture, horticulture, ~~and~~ viticulture, and production of olive oil, the appearance of the first manufactured articles from the artisan shops, these are the characteristics of the state of the productive forces in this period.

The new productive forces demand that the worker be left a certain initiative in production, that he feel an inclination for work and that he is interested in it. For that reason, the feudal lord did not consider the use of slaves who have no interest in their work [nor showed even] the least initiative in it, and preferred to come to an understanding with serfs who have their own goods and instruments and are interested, to some degree, in work, to the point of working the ground and of paying the lord in kind with part of the harvest.

During this period, private ownership made progress. The continuous exploitation remained as rapacious as under slavery but a little softened. The class struggle between the exploiters and the exploited is the fundamental feature of ~~the~~ feudalism.

Under the capitalist regime, the basis of productive relations is private capitalist ownership of the means of production and the nonexistence of property by the producers, the salaried laborers, whom capitalism cannot sell or kill, since they are free of bond of personal subjugation, still lacked the means of production and so as not to die of hunger saw themselves obliged to sell their work force to capitalism and submit to the yoke of exploitation. On a par with capitalist ownership of the means of production there exists generally during the first stages private ownership by the peasants and artisans, freed from slavery, of their means of production and based on personal work. In place of the manufactured goods and the shops of the artisans, there arose the large factories and enterprises equipped with machinery. In place of the ~~XXXX~~ ^{estates} of the nobles cultivated with ~~XX~~ the first peasant instruments of production, there appeared the large capitalist agricultural exploitations, established by agricultural technology and supplied with agricultural machinery.

The new productive forces demand workers who are better educated and more skillful than the serfs, kept in dejection and ignorance. Workers capable of understanding and maintaining machinery. For that reason, the capitalists prefer to deal with the salaried laborers who are free of the bonds of servitude and sufficient intelligent to know how to manage machinery.

(This chapter follows Stalin's "Concerning Dialectic Materialism and Concerning Historic Materialism" and refers to the paragraph in the part on historic materialism, which it follows more or less, to the passage that ends "the means of production of socialist society".)

(c) The law of the inevitable correspondence between the relations of production and the character of the productive forces continues to work in the period of socialism in the USSR. In the Soviet Union there is complete correspondence between the ^{production} relations of ~~production~~ and the character of the productive forces. But

we must not interpret this complete correspondence in a meta-
 relation
 physical manner; that is, there exists no lag of the ~~XXXXX~~ of
 production in the face of the increase of the productive forces.
 The productive forces even in socialism lead the relations of produc-
 tion. The relations of production only after a period of time are
 transformed in conformity with the character of the productive
 forces.

The law of the inevitable correspondence between the ^{production} relations
 of ~~production~~ and the character of the productive forces, however,
 works quite differently in socialist society where there is no
 antagonistic class than in the preceding societies where there
 were generally authorities. In the Soviet Union the lagging
 relations of production can be perfectly modified, brought to the
 level of the increased productive forces without conflicts nor
 revolutions. This is so because in the bosom of socialist society
 there are no moribund classes capable of organizing resistance.
 Nature, also, in socialism will have forces of inertia which are
 behind the times and which do not understand the necessity of
 modifying the relations of production. But these will be overcome
 without the need of a conflict to bring it about.

(d) The law of the inevitable correspondence between the
 (relations of production) and the character of the productive forces
 is trying to open its way in Brazil. It formulates the need to
 eliminate the semi-feudal relations of production which still
 predominate in the field and is interwoven with the imperialist
 domination of our economy. To give full course to the action of
 the law of the inevitable correspondence between the ^{production} relations of
~~production~~ and the productive forces, a revolution which is
 democratic and popular, agrarian, antifeudal, and anti-imperialist
 is necessary. However, this can only be done by the organization

of a socialist force, by a democratic front of national liberation, under the direction of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance and to which will belong the working class, the peasant masses, the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie. The victory of the ~~front~~ of national liberation simultaneously with the opening of the field for the relations of capital production will lead to national economy through a non-capitalist development.

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Glezermann: Article in Problems, No 53.

25X1

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The Marxist-Leninist Theory of Classes and of the Class Struggle

25X1

Summary:

- I. Introduction
- II. Definition of Classes
- III. Origin of Classes
- IV. The Class Structure of Slave, Feudal, and Capitalist Society
- V. The Historical Role of the Proletariat and of its Class Struggle
- VI. The Forms of Struggle of the Pro letariat
- VII. Classes and Parties
- VIII. Abolition of the Classes

I. Marxism demonstrates that all previous history of mankind, ~~is~~ with the exception of primitive society, is the history of the class struggle. Contrary to the bourgeois theories, which preach the eternal nature of classes, Marx and Engels did not consider classes eternal but on the contrary disclosed the transitory character of each class society and of the division of society into classes in general; they disclosed the connection between the division of society into classes and the material living ~~the~~ conditions of society; demonstrated that the existence of classes ~~results from~~ ^{prevailing} the ~~existing~~ system of production ⁱⁿ a given phase of society. There are those who think that Marx discovered the class struggle; our bourgeoisie, in its ignorance, accuses ^{the} Communists ^{of} having invented the class struggle. Marx, on the other hand, wrote: "I do not possess the merit of having discovered the classes in modern society nor of having discovered the class struggle. Much prior to me, bourgeois ~~historians~~ historians described the development of the class struggle; what I did which was new was to show the following: 1. the existence of classes is connected to historical phases ^{certain}

of the development of production; 2. that the class struggle leads necessarily to the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3. that such a dictatorship itself represents only the step to the abolition of all classes and to the classless society."

The importance of the Marxist-Leninist theory of classes and of the class struggle is that it gives a scientific basis to the policy and tactics of the proletariat and shows it the ways of struggle for Socialism. Marxism was the first to define with scientific precision the */premise/* and the role of each one of the classes of capitalist society and to express the historical role of the proletariat as the only class able to lead the fight for the overthrow of capitalism and for the creation of the classless Communist society. The Marxist-Leninist theory of ideological classes and of the class struggle is a powerful ~~weapon~~ weapon of the Party of the Proletariat.

II. The origin of the division of society into classes must be sought in the character of the ~~mode~~^{form} of production; depending on the level ~~of development~~ achieved by the development of the productive forces, certain production relations are established between men. The state of the production relations is characterized by the ownership of the means of production; ^{whether} ~~if~~ they belong to all society or to persons, groups, or classes which utilize the means of production for the exploitation of other persons, groups, and classes. If all the means of production are at the disposal of all, as happened in ~~the~~ the primitive community, there is no place for the existence of social classes; if the means of production are owned by this or that part of society, society is divided into classes. In his work, "A Great Initiative," Lenin gave the most perfect definition of the classes: "Classes are large groups of people distinguished by the place they occupy in a system of social production historically defined by (1) their attitude (largely consolidated and

formulated in laws) in relation to the means of production; (2) their role in the social organization of work; and consequently (3) by the manner in which they receive and the proportions in which they receive part of the social wealth. Classes are groups of people of which some can take possession of the ~~work~~^{labor} of others thanks to the differences in the places they occupy in a certain regime of social economy^{the}. This means that each class is bound to this or that historically determined ~~form~~^{form} of production; to each ~~mode~~^{form} of production pertains a certain division of society into classes. But within each system of production those classes occupy opposite situations: one of them is the dominant class and the other the dominated class. This is /important/ because the bourgeoisie regard capitalism as perpetual and they distort history; they say that capitalism always existed but in other forms.

In line with Lenin's definition we can understand all the aspects of production, with regard to the position of the classes, their ownership of the means of production, and the distribution of material goods. Starting from the ~~mode~~^{form} of production as the basis of division into classes, historical materialism arrives at the recognition of the irreconcilable nature [of the conflict] between the antagonistic classes. Lenin indicates that the difference of position in the regime of social economics enables one to appropriate for itself the labor of another, which makes their interests objectively irreconcilable, giving birth to a bitter class struggle. The importance of Lenin's definition /several words/ bourgeois theoreticians who deny the division of society into classes. This existed before more than now; capitalism created so much wealth that any worker can become a capitalist; there are no classes; there are men who work but who can become millionaires.

III. Many/sociologists regard classes and class inequalities as a perpetual and natural phenomenon, originating in man's "nature." An

opinion such as that has nothing in common with science. It serves as justification for the dominant position of the bourgeois class. They say, for instance, that it is natural for society to be divided into classes because there are men who are more intelligent, capable, and hard working and who thereby become wealthy. Marx, in "Das Kapital," compares this theory of the bourgeoisie with the story of Adam and Eve, ^{as} attempting to change the history of the class struggle into a legend. The incapable ones, they preach, for centuries have been creating wealth and the others have been taking it.

In reality, classes are the product of historical development; they are not ~~eternal~~ eternal. Before the class society, there was everywhere the primitive community, in which there was no division into classes nor the exploitation of man by man; it was with the passing of the primitive community system that classes arose.

How ~~did~~ did the classes arise? The first condition for the appearance ~~of~~ of classes was the increase in the productivity of labor: the appearance of surplus production. The development of the productive forces led to a situation in which it became possible to ~~take away~~ take away from the worker part of the commodities he produced and it became possible for some people to live at the expense of the work of others. The second ^{ownership} premise was the private ~~possession~~ of the means of production; when the forces of production were very primitive, men needed ^{to keep them} ~~in common~~ in common. With the development of the /5 or 6 words/ factory owners would appropriate the profits /2 words/. The development took the place of the primitive equality of the members of the community and contributed to the ^{different} ~~differe~~ t-iations with regard to property among the free population. The chiefs of tribes and the heads of the wealthier families became slaveowners.

Bourgeois sociology spreads the theory which explains the origin of classes by violence. It is the so-called theory of violence, which

asserts that the beginning of private property is the usurpation of property thanks to the right of the stronger. The enslavement of some men by others is regarded by this theory as a result of conquest by force. Marx and Engels proved the falseness of the theory of violence; the ~~x~~ origin of private property is not in deceit nor in violence. "Violence," Engels said, "can change the proprietor but it cannot create private property as such." The character of the expropriation of another's property is never /defined/ by violence. How is the usurped property to be employed? In whose possession will it remain? All this depends on the dominant social relations and in no manner on the fact of violence itself. Before property arose there was violence, the clash between communities, because [sic] private property did not arise. Some tribes took ~~were~~ prisoners; /still, slavery did not arise/. Exploitation and property arose when the development of the ^{form} ~~mode~~ of production permitted the existence of the surplus product and its appropriation and hence private property. This does not mean that violence had no importance in the unfolding of history. Marx said that violence was the midwife of the old society.

IV. The essence of class exploitation lies in the appropriation of the labor of the producers by a part of society which owns the means of production. To each antagonistic ^{stic} mode of production is [one word] a particular form of appropriation of another's labor, a particular mode of class exploitation. Slavery, serfdom, and wage labor are three successive forms of exploitation which characterize the degree of development of class ~~x~~ society. Slaveowners and slaves, lords and serfs, and bourgeois and proletarians are the basic classes in the corresponding economic-social organizations. Each ~~form~~ antagonistic form of production gives rise to only two fundamental classes. Meanwhile, side by side with the dominant production [system] there may persist

remnants of earlier forms of production, or there may arise ~~new~~ the embryos of new ~~new~~ forms of production in the shape of particular economic regimes. With that is involved the existence of non-basic classes, of transitional classes. Describing the class society, Marx and Engels said in the Communist Manifesto: "The history ~~of~~ of all societies existing hitherto, with the exception of primitive society, was the history of the class struggle." The class struggle permeates all the ~~history~~ ^[sic] history of the class struggle. [^] That struggle results in the reorganization of the entire social structure or the total collapse of the classes in conflict. The class struggle is the motive force of the development of the class society. Only through the class struggle ^{does} ~~the~~ the passage from one form of production to another take place. The substitution of one ~~former~~ social regime by another takes place by revolution, which is the most acute form of the clash between the clashes. Classes never yield their place voluntarily; the reactionary classes, bearers of the outmoded production relations, do not leave the scene voluntarily. The revolutionary classes have to abolish their control by force, instituting their own power ^{to suppress} /the old production relations and consolidate the new production relations.

In the first two forms of exploitation--slavery and serfdom--the producer was, to this or that degree, personally dependent and identified with the means of production. The slave was the property of the slaveholder and this property was no different from property over an object. The master had the right to /punish/or to kill the slave. In slave society there were not only the basic classes--slaveowners and slaves--but also small landowners and ~~small~~ tradesmen. The history of slave society is permeated by the ~~the~~ struggle of the slaves against the masters as well as of the small producers and tradesmen against the wealthy strata of

society. It was the revolutionary movements of the slaves that undermined the slave regime, and led it to its collapse. Weakened from within by the contradictions of the slavery form of production, by the ~~the~~ ^{uprisings of} the slaves, and by the outside pressures exerted by the barbarian tribes, the Roman empire of slavery ~~and~~ fell. The slaves' revolution did not end by their victory and assumption of power. This is explained by the fact that the slave class did not carry with it a new, more progressive form of production. The slaves were able to free themselves but they were not in condition to create a new society and until /one word/ they were unable to understand to what point their struggle would lead. The class struggle in slave society and the higher form /?/ of this struggle prepared the passage to the feudal society which was established gradually on the ruins of the Roman Empire. In place of the slave form of exploitation there arose the feudal form; in contrast to the slave, the ~~xxx~~ peasant serf already possessed his small economy and the tools of production. The peasant could be bought and sold but not killed by the feudal lord. The feudal lord was the owner of the main means of production--the land--which enabled him to appropriate for himself the peasant's labor. The feudal economic system, just as the slave system, presupposed the personal dependence of the producer. Production in the feudal city was accomplished by tradesmen journeymen, divided into a hierarchy--of master craftsmen, and apprentices--within the guilds. In the last period of feudalism the master craftsmen became an exploiting stratum, and the journeymen and apprentices an exploited mass. The history of feudal society presents a picture of bitter class struggle between lords and serfs, master and journeyman workers. The weakness of the peasant movements lay in their spontaneous nature and their lack of organization. There were many peasant revolts, which were snuffed out. The concept of private property was very confused because

it did not have a /one word/ struggle against feudalism. In Russia, where great movements were afoot, the peasants struggled only when they were close to their properties. The peasants can only achieve victory in their struggle under the leadership of the more revolutionary class~~es~~, the more persistent class: the working class. This at the time was not possible because the working class was hardly arising and ~~handicapped~~ ~~was~~ still not class-conscious. The most decisive struggles against feudalism are linked not only to the /one word/ of the peasants but also to those of the poor of the city--journeyman, apprentices, etc. A trait of the peasant movement took the form of religious ideology--the Canudo movement in Brazil was a peasant movement with such a trait--the peasant movement assumed a monarchist form, that is, of placing in power a good king.

The peasant movements against feudalism were taken advantage of by the bourgeoisie, which assumed the leadership of the peasant masses and carried out the bourgeois revolution. As a consequence of the bourgeois victory the place of the feudal society was taken by the capitalist regime. Under capitalism the worker is considered free by the law, but he is economically dependent on the capitalist. The basis of the production relations under capitalism is the ownership by the capitalist of the tools of production, whereas the proletarians own only their labor force; in ~~an~~ order not to die they are ^{forced} ~~forced~~ to sell it to the capitalist. The capitalist form of production is characterized by the appropriation ~~by~~ the capitalist of the surplus labor of the worker. Owing ~~to~~ to this peculiarity of the capitalist form of exploitation, the division of society into classes under capitalism is freed from its hierarchical trappings. This means that capitalism has a form of exploitation different from all others. The rights of the exploiters over the person of the workers disappear. The worker~~s~~ is free in two

ways: he is free of the means of production and free to sell his labor force. There is no law to force him to work. The castes ~~break down~~ and only the production relations characterize the /individual/.

/Thus, under/ capitalism, the basic classes are the capitalists and the proletariat--by the position they occupy with regard to the ownership of the means of production. However, in many countries there are ~~non~~ non-basic classes: large landowners, petty bourgeois, craftsmen, and peasants. In accordance with the degree of development of capitalism the specific /one word/ of these strata and their position in society differ to a large extent. In a series of capitalist countries or countries of ~~small~~ limited industrial development they have remained strong until now under remnants of feudalism. The latifundists maintain themselves as a special class in many colonial and dependent countries, where the imperialists support them and utilize them as a center of operations. The alliance between the latifundists and monopolist capital and the mutual aid which the latifundists and the bourgeoisie lend to each other in the fight against democracy characterize the era particularly of imperialism. The petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry also are a stratum derived from feudalism; by their economic ~~position~~ situation, those middle layers connected with mercantile production occupy an intermediate position between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. They are close to the proletariat because they live of their personal work; they are oppressed by the latifundists and ~~by~~ the capitalists; and they are close to the bourgeoisie in that they are private proprietors and producers of commodities. With the development of capitalism the middle strata disintegrate; the overwhelming majority of the peasants and tradesmen are /one word/ and become proletarians; a small part of them become wealthy and enter the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Side by side with the basic and nonbasic classes of society there exist intermediate groups

or strata, more or less numerous, which do not occupy an independent position in the production of material goods and therefore do not constitute a distinct class. The intelligentsia constitute a separate social stratum; they never were and cannot be a class, since they do not occupy a definite position with regard to the means of production; they are not, however, outside ~~of~~ the classes; they are a stratum of people whose labor is intellectual and which serves this or that class-- bourgeois, petit-bourgeois, or proletarian intelligentsia. Since access ^{under capitalism} to education/ is a privilege of the dominant class, the intelligentsia under capitalism come from the bourgeoisie and the latifundists. They do not constitute an independent force in society, and in capitalist society they serve the interests of the dominant and exploiting classes. In spite of this they are not homogeneous but composed of groups; /they are more closely/ connected to the government and the bourgeoisie by its origin~~x~~; they are closer to the proletariat by their living conditions. With regard to the revolution the intelligentsia are divided. It is /well/ to consider this because in the semi-colonial and semifeudal countries the intelligentsia are important because they represent the urban bourgeois /society/.

V. Analyzing the class structure and the laws of the development of capitalist society, Marx and Engels arrived at the discovery of the historical role of the working class as the only class able to overthrow capitalism and /lead society into Communism/. In freeing itself the ~~the~~ ^{it} proletariat frees all the workers because ~~nothing~~ liquidates private ownership of the means of production and thereby ends all exploitation.

The proletariat is the most revolutionary class because, in the first place~~x~~, it is deprived of the means of production; ~~it~~ ^{it} owns nothing but its own labor strength; therefore it has nothing to lose except its chains and has an entire world to gain. In the second ~~an~~

place because it is the working class connected to the most advanced form of ~~production~~^{economy}--the great production--and for that reason it increases from year to year. By force of the concentration of production, the proletariat organizes itself easily; more ~~xx~~ than any other working class it is able to take concerted, united, and organized action in defense of its class interests. For that reason the proletariat is the only consistently revolutionary class in capitalist society. The remaining workers, including the peasants are revolutionary, as Marx and Engels say, "because they are on the verge of falling into the ranks of the proletariat or because they are fighting under the leadership of the proletariat." The proletariat is not fighting alone against capitalism. It can and must ~~draw~~^{the working peasantry} draw/into this struggle. This means that the proletariat must have the hegemony, that is the leadership of the revolutionary movement.

VI. The class struggle of the proletariat has three forms: Economic, political, and ideological. The main task of the economic struggle of the proletariat is the defense of the /occupational/ interests of the proletariat, that is the increase of wages, the reduction of the working day, etc. This struggle is necessary, and the Communists cannot fail to take part in it. On the other hand the economic struggle is not to the Communists an objective in itself, because they know that within the limits of ~~xx~~ capitalism it is not possible to obtain a radical improvement of the situation of the proletariat. For that reason they cannot limit themselves to struggling for the improvement of the conditions of the sale of the labor force to the capitalists. It is necessary to struggle for the abolition of the economic conditions themselves which force the workers to sell their labor force. So, in addition to their occupational interest, the workers share a common class interest, which

consists in the abolition of capitalism and the construction of Socialism. Such basic interest, an interest common to the entire class, can be brought into actuality only by the overthrow of the bourgeois political parties and the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus the necessity for the political struggle; in the political struggle the ~~new~~ basic economic interests of the proletariat have a more concentrated expression. For ~~the~~ ^{this} reason the political struggle is the principal and decisive form of the class struggle of the proletariat. But it is not enough to admit the political struggle ~~is~~ in order to be revolutionary. The political struggle of the proletariat is revolutionary only when it seeks to resolve the basic question--the conquest of the power--and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The ideological struggle also is greatly significant to the proletariat. The class struggle is reflected in the field of ideology in the form of the clash between the advanced ideas of the revolutionary class and the reactionary ideas of the outmoded power. The revolutionary class not only carries with it the new form of production but also the new social ideas. Since revolution is not ^a spontaneous process, in revolutionary times a great role is played by the new social ideas whose job it is to organize and unite the masses into a political army capable of overthrowing the old ~~social~~ order. Hence the vast significance of ~~the~~ Socialist theory in the struggle of the proletariat. The elaboration and the propagation of Socialist theories among the proletarian masses cannot be the result of ~~the~~ spontaneous class class struggle. The PC transmits the Socialist consciousness to the ~~working~~ working class and helps it to have an awareness of its basic and general class interests.

VII. In every society in which there are opposed classes, there takes place the struggle of classes, which inevitably assumes the character of a political struggle. That struggle is led by the political parties; the bourgeois sociologists try to conceal the link between the parties and the classes; they say that the parties are only a union of ideas, a union of persons with the same ideas without any relation to their class situation. In reality, the division ~~of~~ into political parties and the party struggle are ~~nothing more than~~ nothing more than the expression of the political struggle among classes. This becomes particularly /true/ during moments of upheaval in the historical process. Lenin said: "The division of society into political parties manifests itself increasingly clearly on the occasion of the profound crises which shake up the entire country. A political party always expresses the interests of this or that class. By its composition it is a part of the class, its most active part; this does not mean that the parties declare openly that they are the defenders of one or another class. Whereas the ~~Russian~~ Party of the proletariat manifests itself openly, having no need to conceal that it defends the interests of a certain class, only the reactionary ~~bourgeois~~ parties of the bourgeoisie and the latifundists carefully conceal their true class aspect; they hide their defense of the interests of the exploiters with lying phrases about the interests of the people, democracy, etc."

Marxism ~~teaches~~ ^{teaches} the workers not to allow themselves to be fooled by that kind of false assertions, to discover the true face of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, and to test them not by their slogans, their resolutions, by their words, in sum, but by their deeds. In Brazil that question is a little more complicated; it cannot be said that the parties here represent this or that class, with the exception of the Communist Party; this does not mean that they do not have class

content. But they are heterogeneous, which is something we should keep in mind.

In the same manner as the other classes in the capitalist society, the proletariat will create its political Party. The Marxist Party is the advance detachment, the vanguard of the proletariat; all the other organizations of the proletariat--labor, cooperative--serve the Party as bases of operations in the class struggle but cannot carry out its basic task of organizing the proletariat for the Socialist revolution. Only the Party is capable of unifying the activities of all the proletarian organizations and steer them in a single direction. The Party is the political chief of the working class.

VIII. The abolition of the classes and the creation of the classless ~~and~~ Communist society is the final objective of the Party of the proletariat. The abolition of the classes became feasible not because of the conviction that their existence is contrary to justice, equality, etc.; not from the simple desire to abolish the classes; but only in consequence of the new economic conditions.

The development of capitalism created the class whose business it is to put this necessity into practice: the proletariat. Marxism shows that to ~~the~~ abolish the classes it is necessary to abolish capitalism and create the Socialist form of production. Once the premise of the division into classes is the ^{private} ownership of the means of production, the abolition of the classes presupposes the liquidation of private property and the establishment of social property.

To abolish the classes means to place all citizens in an identical relation with regard to society's means of production; it means that all citizens have identical access to ~~the~~ labor with society's means of production, society's soil,, society's factories, etc.

The enemies of Marxism express their astonishment and their perplexity because Marxism raises the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which means political control by one class, and at the same/^{time} demand ~~the~~ the abolition of all class control. /Name/ and anar^{ch}ist, used to say: If the proletariat is going to become a dominant class, whom is it going to dominate? Is there going to be another proletariat to be dominated? They do not understand that in order to ~~institute the dictatorship~~ abolish the classes it is necessary to institute the dictatorship of the proletariat. To the contrary of all previous dominant classes, the proletariat takes political control into its hands not to strengthen forever its class control but to end all division of society into classes and effect the transition to Communism. The classes can be abolished only by a violent/^{class}struggle of the proletariat against all the forces of the old world, which offer tenacious resistance. After the takeover of power by the proletariat, the class struggle does not cease; on the contrary, it sharpens. Only Marx leads ^{from} the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat means the continuation of the class struggle in new forms and ~~with~~ ^{by} new means. Therefore the only ^{way} ~~XXXX~~ to the abolition of classes ^{is} ~~is~~ through a bitter struggle of the proletariat, through the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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25X1

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Next 6 Page(s) In Document Denied

THE MARX-LENIN THEORY OF THE STATE

25X1

- I. Question of the Proletarian Superstructure
- II. The Functions of the State
- III. The Origin of the State
- IV. Types and Forms of the State
- V. The State and the Revolution

I. Lenin said that there are few questions which are so confused by the ideology of the exploiting class as the question of the State. This is explained, in the essence, by the fact of what the question of the nature of the State states with respect to the fundamental interests of the exploiting classes and of the interests of the oppressed classes.

The bourgeois sociologists present the bourgeois State as above the classes, outside of the classes, and exists above society. These theories are accepted by the reformists and the right wing socialists; they say that the proletariat can take over the State even in capitalism through votes. That bourgeois theory that the State is foreign to classes is refuted by the entire bourgeois policy of the bourgeois State as well as by practice. During the clashes of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, all instruments of State power -- the police, prisons, justice -- are openly utilized to stifle and eliminate the workers.

The State is the political organization of the class which hold economic domination, an organization in the hands of these classes which serves as an instrument of repression of the other classes. The State did not always exist; it arose at a determined stage of the historic development when society was divided into hostile classes; the State is the political instrument in the hands of the classes which rule economically by the repression and

....[illegible] of the oppressed classes. The State is not an instrument of ...[illegible] of the contradictions of class as the bourgeois sociologists present it, but an instrument of repression of one class against the other.

The State is a political superstructure which is built on a specific economic substructure. The base or substructure is the economic regime of society at a determined stage of its development; the base is constituted by the entire production relations among men. In the Superstructure are the political, juridic, religious, artistic, philosophic and moral ideas and the political, juridic, and other institutions which correspond to them. In studying the base, it is necessary to keep in mind that it can be viewed only in a historic, concrete way.

The nature of the class of the economic substructure defines the essence of class of the State; or, the class which dominates the economic field is the dominant political force. Each historically defined substructure creates its political and juridic superstructure, its State and its law. Because it is a political superstructure on the economic substructure, the State always serves the interests of the ruling class. There can never be found a State in a position to be independent of the relations of all the classes of an antagonistic society. (See Stalin's work on Marx and linguistics.)

The bourgeois sociologists emphasize the purely exterior attributes in the State and not the essential attributes or the very features which do not characterize the State such as those which facilitate the unification of the population, the coercible power. The principal and decisive characteristic of the State is in the institution of its political power, which, in contrast to the authority in primitive society, no longer coincides directly with the armed population; the most important[illegible] of the State are the armed forces isolated from the people: the army, the

police, etc., and also justice and the espionage service. Moreover, the army, the police, the judges are the most important instruments of the power of the State. The assembly of the ~~public~~ ^{class} functionaries comprises the public power which is above the common people. With the increase of the contradictions there is a tendency to strengthen and enlarge the state machinery: police, military, bureaucrats. To finance this anti-popular power and a gigantic apparatus of coercion and violence, huge resources are necessary; taxes are the source of these resources; the payment of the taxes by the people is also a characteristic of the State. Another characteristic of the State is its division of its subjects according to the principle of territory: districts, provinces, municipalities, etc. This distinguished the State from primitive society where the existing principle was that of family relationships, clans, tribes, etc.

II. Stalin teaches that the State is characterized by two fundamental functions: (1) the internal function, which is the principal function, consists of maintaining oppression of the exploited majority; (2) the external function, which is not the principal, of enlarging the territory of the ruling class with the loss of territory to other States or defending the territory of their State against attacks from another State.

The main function of the State in slave, feudal, and capitalist society is to maintain in an oppressed condition the exploited majority of the people. The subordination and the exploitation of the workers are assured above all by the ownership of the means of production by the ruling class; but the economic dependence of the workers is not sufficient to force the slave and the serf to work and it is indispensable to have the coercion of non economic factors: the lash of the overseer and the mailed fist of the State. Capitalist production is based on the so-called free wage labor. Formally, the worker is free of personal dependence; in the labor market he sells freely to the capitalist his merchandise -- his

work. It is not the club or the lash of the overseer which forces the laborer to work for the capitalist but the fear of dying of hunger. In capitalism there is fundamentally the economic coercion; the laborer works for the capitalist because he does not have the means of production. But in capitalism, the bourgeois State, as an organization of violence, is in the indispensable situation to assure capitalist exploitation. The bourgeois State is the force which guarantees the supports of capitalism: private property, exploitation of the salaried worker, and the rule of the capitalists. -- Particularly in the period of imperialism, the bourgeois State resorts constantly to methods of noneconomic coercion; it prohibits strikes and breaks them by force, forces the strikers to work with machine guns stuck in their ribs. The State of the oppressing fulfilled classes has and will fulfill its principal function -- the repression of the workers -- both by open violence and by the spiritual and ideological repression of the workers: the church, the schools, literature, the radio, the movies, etc.

The internal function of the State is decisive and ~~fundamental~~ principal; actually, it is the need to suppress the workers that gives its origin to the State. Moreover, the internal function of the State characterizes its nature and its essence. The external or exterior function of the State, which is the struggle to defend or to enlarge its territory, is closely tied to its internal function. The external policy of the State was and is simply the continuance of its internal policy. Even when the slave, feudal, or bourgeois State undertakes the armed defense of a certain country, it is defending the riches and the privileges of the exploiting minority, it is defending the conditions which assure this minority undivided rule over the workers of its country. We see the internal policy of the socialist and the bourgeois States reflected in their external policies. The policy of the bourgeois State is aggression, war for the exploitation of

people} and riches of other countries. The external policy of the socialist State is the policy of peace, because there is no class.

Moreover, the external policy is tied to the internal function: if the internal policy is reactionary and rests on violence, enslavement of the workers, the oppression of downtrodden minorities, then the external policy is also reactionary, aggressive, directed toward violence and oppression of ...[illegible] and races. The Bourgeois politicians and ideologists ~~say that the capitalist State exercise functions common to all the people and socially useful such as the zeal for public health, schools, public safety, etc.; they use this argument to show that the State is an organization, an arm of the classes, everlasting and indispensable to all the population. It is necessary to examine the essence of these functions. By education they do not mean to increase the degree of cultural development of the people but only because the form of capitalist production requires a minimum of instruction. This instruction is limited to the indispensable minimum needed by production. In 1948, according to the Ministry of Justice [?] there were 20 million illiterate adults.~~

In the field of public health, the policy is subordinate to the interests of the ruling class. The bourgeois State is forced to do something in the fight against epidemics, but not because it is worried about the welfare of the people but because it is indispensable to guarantee the development of the capitalist regime. In this respect, the slave regime took more care of the slave, because he was his own property and his death would represent a loss; in the capitalist regime, the industrialist does not have this interest, the market of the labor force is there to supply the losses. In reality, the maintenance of order is limited to the oppression of the workers and to the protection, by all means, of the sacred private property of the capitalist. In bourgeois society

the minor transgressions of the law and of behaviour are scarcely punished because the great criminals are not apprehended but even are promoted to positions of leadership in the capitalist society. The workers who fall into misfortune, into....[blank].

Law also forms a part of the superstructure. It is a composite of norms and juridic regulations which regulate the relations between men. Contrary to the norms of morality, the norms of law are established by the State and have a compulsory force, the fulfillment of which is obligatory. Law is the expression of certain established economic relations between men, principally the relations of property which law consolidates and sanctifies by [issued] laws. The system of ^{existing} juridic norms in the established class society and the corresponding juridic institutions form the juridic superstructure over a determined economic substructure. Law in a special society is the will of the ruling class built into law; this will is imposed, obligatorily, through the State organs. Moreover, law presupposes the existence of a State.

III. To understand the essence of the State, it is necessary to explain how and under what conditions the State arose. In the primitive, communal regimes, the State did not exist. At the head of the clans, of the tribe, and of the union of tribes were persons elected by the entire population and who performed special ~~XXXX~~ functions: organizations for communal habitation, water rights; observance of customs and religion, etc. These organizations of social power did not have any means of acting independently of the community; their power was only a moral force.

The State came into being only after the decomposition of society into irreconcilably hostile classes. At that time, there arose necessity of an institution to defend private property and to make it the sacred and intolerable basis of the newly constituted

regime. This institution was the State which defended the privileges of the "haves" against the "have not" members of the tribe and defended especially the interests of the slaveowners against the slaves.

The State came into being with appearance of the classes and private property as an instrument to guarantee private property and to repress the oppressed classes. It arose as a necessity to the ruling classes for guaranteeing their domination.

IV. The types of State are distinguished by the classes which make them, in accord with the economic substructure upon which the State arises in the quality of political superstructure. The types of State which have followed each other historically are the slave State, the feudal State, the bourgeois State, and the dictatorship of the proletariat which is a new type of State. However, within each of the types of State there are different forms of government (the government is not the State; the government is the directing, ~~xxx~~ superior part; it is not to be confused with the State; for this reason, the forms of government are not to be confused with the types of State. The relation between State and government is the relation of content to form; when we speak of a State, we are speaking of the classes which make it up; the government is the form of power which these classes present. There can be one type of State with various forms of government; there can be a bourgeois State with a republican or monarchical form; it can be presidential or parliamentary. In England and the United States, for example, there are two forms of government of a single type of State.)

The type of State depends upon the established method of production, upon the class which is in power. The forms of government depend upon the historical conditions connected with the development

of each country, upon the correlation of the forces of the classes, upon the international situation, etc. It is important to understand this because the bourgeoisie attempts to deceive the masses by showing that the evils of the State do not depend upon its make-up but in its form. The case of Raul Pila in Brazil in his parliamentary speech.

By its make-up, the slave State was a dictatorship of the slavemasters and then assumed the form of a monarchy or a republic. Rome is an example. The feudal States had different forms, principally monarchies, but also there were republics. Venice is an example of this. In Brazil there was an attempt, in the war of the vendors; in Olinda, the Brazilian ^{landowners} latifundists [?] in their struggle against the Portuguese [?] organized themselves on the model of Venice.

The bourgeois State in all its forms is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, from the democratic republic to the parliamentary monarchy and to the fascist dictatorship. Whether the petty bourgeois or the bourgeois parties rose to power, in any case it is political leadership of bourgeois society; that is, the dictatorship and is conserved by the bourgeoisie. This guaranteed by the economic relations and also by the bourgeois laws - the Constitution - which practically remove the possibility of the workers participating decisively in the political life. The bourgeois domination is assured by a statal apparatus especially chosen by subornation, by propaganda, by deceiving the masses, and by violence.

Compared to the feudal regime, the bourgeois democracy presented a great forward step in the social pattern. The bourgeois sociologists, including the rightist sociologists, present the bourgeois democracy as a pure power above the classes and common to every nation. In this way, the politicians speak eloquently about

the freedoms that bourgeois democracy assures: speech, assembly, organization. Marxism unmasked the falsity of the bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois democracy is democracy for the rich and dictatorship for the workers ; ~~that there~~ ^{there} can be equality between the poor and the rich, the ~~sated~~ ^{sated}..... and the ~~famished~~ ^{famished}.....?

In a society divided into antagonistic classes there is not and cannot be freedom by right. Anatole France said: "That de facto a bourgeois democracy is for everyone; in its greatness it prohibits the poor just as the rich from sleeping under a bridge or from stealing bread." The rights that it assures are scarcely formal; there are constitutions which guarantee the right of work, but when there are crises, million of workers are let out and the guarantee is ended. The guarantee of assembly: the assembly places are for the bourgeoisie; the proletariat has the right of freedom of the press but does not have the right to paper which is controlled by the bourgeoisie. Not to speak of the right to vote: in the South of the United States the Negro does not vote and the white vote is limited to those who have a fixed amount of property. This does not signify that the working class can maintain indifference toward the form of the bourgeois State. It is not the same for the working class if the bourgeoisie establishes its dictatorship in the form of a democracy or an open, terrorist, fascist dictatorship. The democratic-bourgeois republic is utilized by the working class to enlighten organize its forces, to ~~XXXXXX~~ the masses for the revolutionary fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the highest form of democracy — socialist democracy. The bourgeois parliament the parliamentary elections are utilized by the working class and its Party as a court as a means of propaganda the mobilization of the masses for the revolutionary fight outside of parliament. Under fascism, the proletariat cannot have labor union led by revolutionary

elements. Between fascism and bourgeois democracy, we do our utmost to support the latter, with the thought of maintaining the bourgeois-democratic freedoms.

The epoch of imperialism signifies the sharpening of all the contradictions of capitalist society and the passage of the bourgeoisie, of democracy, to open reaction. The transformations in the economic field, the economic domination by the bourgeoisie, cannot but bring about transformation in political domination. The open political reaction built a political superstructure on the new economy, on monopolistic capitalism; democracy means free competition; political reaction along each line means monopolies. Lenin, in his book "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," analyzes these aspects of capitalism and its State. As a consequence of the sharpening of the ^{class-}contradictions, of war preparations, and the outbreak of imperialist wars, the bourgeoisie even rejects the limited, false bourgeois democracy and passes to fascism. Fascism is the ^{terrorist} dictatorship of the most reactionary, chauvanistic, and militaristic groups of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and represents the stifling of all democratic freedoms. The bourgeoisie institutes fascism for two main objectives: (1) to restrain by violence the word or words missing of the universal 2 revolution of the proletariat; and (2) to militarize the country and drag it into the imperialist wars. Fascism ^{arises} ~~arises~~ in the period of the general illness of capitalism, when the capitalist system is shaken in its basis, when the bourgeoisie can no longer maintain its control through its old methods of bourgeois democracy. It is a characteristic of the shattering of the bourgeoisie. (The favorite type of regime in Latin America.)

V. A dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is the State in all capitalist countries, no matter what its forms. The main task

of the working class of the capitalist countries consists in destroying the bourgeois State and substituting for it its own State -- the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletariat, upon seizing power, cannot utilize the apparatus of the bourgeois State to attain its objectives. The machinery of the bourgeois State is adapted to the oppression of the working class. For this reason, it is up to the proletariat to crack it, smash it to bits, destroy it, to create its own proletarian, state machinery on the basis of which it will be possible to crush the bourgeoisie, abolish capitalism, and build socialism.

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Next 4 Page(s) In Document Denied

THE ROLE OF THE POPULAR MASSES AND THE INDIVIDUAL IN HISTORY.

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SUMMARY:

- I. Marxist-Leninist Critique of the Idealistic Concept of the Role of the Individual in the March of History.
- II. The People Are the Creators of History.
- III. The Role of the Individual in History.
- IV. The Fight of the Communist Party Against the Theories of the Cult of Personality.
- V. The Role of the Leaders of the Working Class.
- VI. Conclusions.

I. In order to understand the process of social history, to explain the great historical events, it is necessary to know, both in general and in particular, about each country as well as about the persons who are their leaders and who play a part in it [i.e., social historical process].

All the great events of Universal History, the revolutions, the class struggles, the wars, are bound up with some person or other. It is necessary, therefore, to explain how this development took place and the results of these events.

[It is necessary] to explain, to some extent, the mutual relationships between peoples, the classes, the [political] parties, the important political and social personalities, the leaders, the ideologists. The question of determining the importance, the true role of the individual in History, is a highly controversial question in sociology and history, and also for the philosophers. In [answer to] this question, a fundamental philosophical question, there are two opposing concepts: the scientific and the idealistic.

In bourgeois sociology and history, the concept that Universal History represents the results of the activities of great men, that is to say the heroes, the leaders, is amply set forth. Their advocates claim that the motivating force of History is the great man. In their eyes the people are inert, a passive force. (Example: the history of Brazil.)

This concept is not new; it is quite old. In the modern era, when bourgeois history and sociology began to be developed, most of their representatives expressed an idealistic point of view, according to which it is the great men who make History. The subjective concept of the role of the individual and of the masses in History has a definite origin. It has class and gnosiological bases (gnosiology:- the origin of events [sic: gnosiology is the theory of the beginnings of knowledge, epistemology]). When, through study, one tries to reconstruct the past, he encounters a gallery of personalities. The masses of the people, that is to say those who produce the material goods, are outside the scope of History according to idealistic history. This deprecation and ^{forgetfulness} lessening of the role of the popular masses by the old-style history, prior to Marx, and by modern bourgeois sociology, reflects the humiliating status of the workers in ^{the} society [compare] of autoctonous classes wherein they are exploited; are prevented from taking part in political life; are ^(and deprived of rights) seen to be exploited; are [entirely] preoccupied by the struggle for their daily existence; [and wherein] the ^{political} decisions are made by the elite.

The subjectivist theory perpetuates and justifies the humiliating position of the workers by stating that the masses are incapable of shaping History and that only the select few are capable of doing it. The idealistic and subjectivist concepts depict social beginnings in terms of historical eras. Therefore, the French encyclopaedists, ideologists of the bourgeoisie, gave birth to the narrow and restrictive bourgeois concepts which have still not achieved full, materialistic understanding of the world and society. Even in the medieval era (^{differing from} as opposed to the bourgeoisie), they sought, through Theology, the origins of historical fact.

During the 19th Century, the idealistic thinkers expressed their ideas in ^{various currents} ~~current terminology~~. In Germany, the "Hegelian Youth" were the first to develop these concepts, later ~~announcing~~ ^{announcing} them in favor of the German philosopher Nietzsche. In England, one of the more important representatives ~~for this~~ ^{ideology} was an historian -- Carlyle -- who ^{came} ~~suffered~~ under the influence of German idealism. Another representative of this genre were the Populists in Russia, with their theories about the heroes and the multitudes. To these ideologians -- representatives of the petit bourgeoisie class -- the popular masses were no more than "an infinite number of ciphers" and could only transform themselves into a certain limited grandeur if they possessed "a corps that thinks critically." (Plekhanov). This ^{at} was a reactionary theory and has been fought against by the Marxists since 70's ~~decade~~ of the last century. The vitality of the Marxist camp was strengthened by the successes and failures of the various ^{currents} ~~forces~~ of the Russian revolutionary movement.

In the imperialist era, the reactionary "theories" of the role of the individual in History are utilized by the bourgeoisie for the purpose of providing a basis for the objectives of ^{the} bandits and to explain Fascism. The philosophy of Nietzsche was the ^{closest} forerunner of Fascism. In it we encounter the most repugnant expressions in regard to ^{the masses} ~~reason~~. He said, "Above all, Humanity is indisputably a means rather than an end....Humanity is merely material for experimentation, a colossal army of failures, a field of trash." He considered the oppressive situation of capitalist conditions as a natural and justified thing; it was compatible to him; he sought ^{for} these concepts, the idea of a superman who would sit in judgement over the ~~person~~ ^{personal} and institutions of the majority for the purpose of achieving its own ends. Nazism was the embodiment of Nietzsche's philosophy.

The basic characteristic of all idealistic concepts is hatred for the people. ~~[This is true of]~~ France, Japan, Germany, and the United States. This characteristic has its practical expression in the imperialist wars, in the colonial yoke, in the oppression of the people of their own country by the imperialist bourgeoisie. The most fertile laboratory for these ideas is the

United States.

These ideas are inconsistent; in the first place, they have nothing in common with science. History teaches that even the most important persons, the... [illegible] and notable, cannot alter the fundamental development of History. For example: Caesar's assassins -- Brutus, Cassius, etc. -- wanted to save the Roman Republic [from] slavery, to ^{retain} ~~restore~~ the power of the Senate, to prevent aristocratic enslavement; despite this, they could not save it from collapse. ^{The Roman emperors} ~~They~~ were unable, despite ^{their personal} ~~being powerful~~ ^{power} persons, to prevent Rome from falling into slavery. "History teaches that one person, however powerful he may be, cannot change the course of History." This applies equally to the past or to the present; the interventionists cannot crush the young Soviet Republic.

History teaches that ^{progressive} men who walk alone, acting separately from the masses, who do not ^{attain} ~~seek~~ the ^{and} ~~same~~ objectives, are defeated. One proof of this in Brazil is in the Mining Industry wherein they do not have the support of the masses and are failing. The utopian sociologists suffer ^{ed} ~~defeat~~ for this reason: they ^{did not have the support of} ~~do not base themselves upon~~ the masses, the ~~[illegible]~~ ^[illegible] classes.

Another basic reason is that, in explaining History, they regard as basic that which is merely superficial, in social fundamentals, and ignore the most consequential and interesting parts--that which constitutes the real basis of History. This shows how they regard the inconsequential element as if it were the dominant one.

The partisans of subjectivist and idealist concepts consider to be incompatible the evolution of objective laws that relate the course of historical events with role of Man in History. They have become confused between what is objective and [what they have] experienced. Marx said, "Men shape history but they do not do it by their free will, but rather in accordance with the circumstances of the moment which they have inherited by the past."

The partisans of this viewpoint cannot establish a proper ^{correlation} ~~(balance)~~ between liberty and historical necessity.

Some bourgeoisie historians and philosophers subordinate criticism to idealist concepts of History thus, departing still further from objective idealism, they try to understand the History of Society.

Expressing their views on the role of the individual in History, they fall into an opposing idealism, going so far as to deny the position of the individual in History, even becoming fatalistic. To them, the individual is a "plaything" in the mill of "destiny"; he, therefore, finds himself bound to religion.

Another notion of idealism is providentialism; that is to say, the providence of God; this is a manifestation of fatalism. Fatalism reduces the individual and the great men to simple playthings of events. Considering themselves grist in the mill of "destiny", they arrive at the concept of passivity.

Historical Materialism fights the fight against fatalism, the idea of History as a pre-determined process. This ^{would} cause it to play the role of a ^{the} Party in the fight for socialism.

Marx-Leninism always fights against spontaneity and fatalism because these theories are damaging to the popular classes, ^{and} justify capitalism. The progressive classes and their leaders regard History and the future not arbitrarily but rather on the basis of social development, on its condition; on the basis of conditions not understood by earlier science. They understand their tasks and adapt ^{themselves} to the order of the day; they cooperate with conditions, with changes and methods in order to carry out their tasks (tactics) of great historical character; they unify and awaken the masses and direct their struggle.

II. In order that the role of the individual in the social development of History may be analyzed, it is necessary, above all, to understand the role of the popular masses ^{who create} in History. This opens a possibility not offered by the repressive idealist theories. Both the futurist and the subjectivist [ideology] is a stranger to the popular concept of History which is born of the popular masses. In this is reflected the class limitation of the concept

of the world held by the believers in this theory. Most of them manifest the characteristics of expositors of ideologies of the exploiter classes, classes hostile and foreign to the people. The disclosure by Marx and Engels of the controlling forces of social development, that is to say the transformation and development of the means of production, at last made possible the discovery of the role of the popular masses in History. In his work Karl Marx, Lenin says: "The development of the materialist concept of History, or better said, the consequent ^{for} diffusion and explanation of materialism in the field of social phenomena brought ~~an~~ end to two fundamental defects that were apparent in historical theories prior to Marx. In the best of circumstances, these theories barely touched upon the motivating forces of ^{material} historical events, without investigating what brought about the development of these motives, without noticing the objective laws in the development of these social relationships, without getting to the root of these relationships within the great materialist development of society. ^{In the first place,} Instead, the old theories completely ignored the lesson of the popular masses in regard to Historical Materialism, ^{For} from the first ^{time} without ^{it is possible} considering the possibility of ^{to investigate} investigating the connection between Historical Materialism and the living conditions of the masses and the changes in these conditions." The Historical Materialist doctrine concerning the decisive role of the crisis in the production of material goods, the doctrine of the class struggle as a fundamental part of the history of a society of classes, is the basis for the scientific solution of the problem of the correlation between the popular masses, the classes, and the leaders, the historical personages and ^{+ their part is} the ~~problem of~~ social development. The history of society is, above all, the history of the means of production and, ^{at the same time} the ~~masses~~; the History of the producers of the material goods; the History of the Working Masses, the fundamental force in the process of production. History is, therefore, the history of the People.

Materialist ideas leave behind the creator of spiritual goods, the idea that this is the role of the elect, ^{of} the ^{illagible} individual. It is true that all the great men bind an ^{inestimable} institutional treasure to the human spirit; moreover, in this particular, the People ~~are essential~~ have great influence: the

fountainhead of really great art is the People. The People, in the process of their labor, create the language which the writers use.

The writers and poets take their traditions and folklore from the people. That is to say, were it not for the labor of the People, the writers and artists would not find the necessary material for their works.

The action of the masses ^{VARIES} ~~develops~~ in accordance with the historical era and the particular period. In earlier History, very often the prominent persons ^{WERE} ~~are~~ representatives of the dominant class. The oppressed classes ^{WERE} ~~are~~ automatically outside the scope of politics. In all societies based on antagonism among the classes, the oppressed masses are suffocated by ferocity and exploitation, victims of ^a material and spiritual yoke. In this era, the masses dominated the Historical scene. Lenin writes: "For more than 100 years, a small group of men and bourgeois intellectuals have managed History and the masses of workers and peasants have lived in a ^{benumbed and somnolent state} ~~state of sleep and somnolency~~. Because of this, History could only advance but slowly." Once History reaches the stage at which the masses arise in their active struggle and enter the march of History, it is considerably accelerated.

These periods ^{WERE PERIODS OF} ~~give birth to~~ the great revolutions and wars of liberation. In the era of revolutions, which is the most joyful of History, in this ^{at} moment there ^{WAS} ~~is~~ most brilliantly manifested the role of the masses and their ^{conscious} participation ^{in the process} ~~illuminates this era of History~~. ^{However, the masses} ~~Fortunately, the outcome of~~ representatives of the main, decisive force and shock troops of the revolution -- ~~people's revolutions has been to lull the consciousness of the~~ ^{did not usually know the fruit of the people's revolutions.} ~~masses these representations of main force and direct revolutionary clashes.~~

Of the great numbers of the masses that participate in a revolution, on the level of their consciousness and organization, depends the scope of the revolution, its profundity and results. The socialist October Revolution was the most profound revolution of Universal History because in it there arose the leadership of the most revolutionary classes -- the proletariat and its Party -- gigantic masses of ^{millions} ~~thousands~~ of men who put an end to all forms of exploitation and oppression. They ~~will~~ change all social relationships in economics, politics, ideology, habits, and customs.

The bourgeoisie ideologists and their lackeys -- the controlled sociologists -- try to divert the working class from its grandiose project of building a new society. They ^{affirm} ~~pretend~~ that the masses are ignorant and can only destroy, not build a new society.

III. The revelation of the role of the popular masses as the decisive factor in historical development meant ~~denying~~ to some extent, or lessening, the role of the individual, of his ^{influence} ~~importance~~ in the march of historical events. The more actively the masses participate in the development of historical events, the more pressing becomes the question of the leadership of these masses, the role of their leaders and the great men. The more the masses are organized, the greater and more organized its consciousness, the comprehension of its ~~basic~~ interests and fundamental objectives, the greater will be the force it represents.

What relationship has this to the role of the individual in History? It is that this comprehension on the part of the masses of their fundamental interests is not the fruit of something spontaneous, but is given them by the class ideologists, by their leaders and Party. Refuting the idealistic notion that men can shape History to their will, Historical Materialism instead recognizes the significance of the creative and revolutionary energy of the masses as well as the initiative of certain persons, of eminent men, of organizations and the Party that ^{know} ~~understands~~ how to bind ^{themselves} ~~itself~~ to the progressive classes, the masses, to give it consciousness, to show it the proper road to the future, to guide and organize it. In conclusion, Historical Materialism does not ignore the role of the great men in History, but considers this role in its relationship to the activities of the masses, in its relationship to the march of the class struggle. The significance of the vanguard fighter lies, above all, in the fact that he understands better than others the historical situation, the laws of the development of society. Therefore, these leaders give just orders which mobilize the masses and form the army for the overthrow of the old order and the installation of the new. The great leader is he who ^{proper} ~~seizes~~ the historical moment.

IV. The role of the working class ^{significantly} simply grows in the era of imperialism and the revolutionary proletariat, in the era of the liquidation of capitalism and the triumph of socialism, when there arise the ~~new~~ conditions for social development and when the proletariat and its Communist Party are at the head of the masses. The laboring class, the workers, carry on their role as the motivating force in the development of social consciousness and efficiency ~~for the purpose of~~ ^{by} replacing the old capitalist system of production with a new socialist production, and they carry on the fight with success ^{in the proportion to the increase} ~~in order that this level~~ of consciousness and organization ~~may be achieved~~. ^{Consciousness and organization} Consequently, ~~organizations~~ are introduced into the movement by the Party. The Party brings together in a single army the working class and the workers, transforming them into a universal force. The Party trains its cadres in the spirit of fidelity to the people and the working class. This is a ~~basic~~ law of Communist Party activity. The Party fights decisively against the Cult of Personality which represents the exaggerated idealistic concept of the role of the individual, which attributes supernatural powers to individuals, which cultivates superstition among them, ~~the people~~. The Cult of Personality contributes to misconceptions about the role of the masses, the classes, and the Party. The Cult of Personality is prejudicial because it ^{does not} ~~educates~~ the working masses to a spirit of ^{activity} ~~dependency~~ and ^{initiative} ~~leaves~~ ^{but to} ~~initiative to these~~ personalities and to hope; the hope that all will be put right by some leading personality. Marxist-Leninism has nothing in common with this sort of ideology. It approves highly of the activity and initiative of the popular masses, directed by the Communist Party, which creates History and the new society. The founders of the scientific society are shown to be opposed to underestimation of the masses and the Party in History, opposed to the Cult of Personality. Marx said of the Cult of Personality: "Neither one of ^{us} ~~we~~ two gives a cent for popularity." He gave proof of his disapproval of any sort of personality cult when, throughout the First International, he would never permit to be published the multitude of letters, in recognition of his services, from various countries; ^{he merely} ~~who~~ replied

answered and only occasionally in order to establish a balance,
 to them instead and advised that they instead make a cult of balance. "The
 first participation ^[illegible] of myself and Engels in a secret society of Communists
 was on the condition that there be eliminated from the Statutes everything
 that would contribute to superstitious veneration of the authorities." Related
 to this matter is another: collective leadership. The Party and its
 organizations are guided by the principle of collective leadership. The Party
 cannot do without this and ^{nor the greatest leader or militant} even more than the leader; it is the membership
 which must collectively make decisions in the organizations and the masses
 which must reflect this collective healthfulness.

Faith in the people, loyalty to the working class, to the Soviet
 Union are indispensable qualities for every individual.

V. The struggle for Communism demands a high level of consciousness
 and organization among the working class, requires a self-denying revolutionary
 fight, ~~self~~ sacrifice, and heroism. The Marxist Party, being the rallying point
 for the ^{millions} thousands of the working class, of the effective representatives of
 the vanguard, is the training school for the formation of class leaders. The
 final victory of the Marxist Party presupposes the existence of experienced
 leaders, farseeing and astute. What sort of leader does the proletariat
 need? The History of the international revolutionary movement admits of
 several types of leaders: the practicalists, bold revolutionists [but] weak
 in theoretics; in the era of the peaceful development of capitalism and the
 Second International -- in this era, there arose another sort of leader --
 trained in theoretics, ^{weaker} strong on organization, on the practical revolutionary
 movement. With the advent of the ^{revolutionary period, at} favorable moment, the moment at which the
^{is} leaders consider ^{ed} it necessary, ^{the leaders} there are issued the proper orders and they
 lead the fight. These leaders are hidden, remain aloof. ^{It one or} There is another
 sort of leader who ^{him} abandons the masses, The masses unmask ^{him} them. What are
 the qualities which the leader of the proletariat must ^{have} develop in order
 to lead the proletarian revolutionary movement? Comrade Stalin gives the
 following reply: "To maintain oneself as a leader of the revolutionary
 proletariat and the proletarian Party, it is necessary to combine theoretical

ability with practical experience in the organization^{ing} of the proletarian movement."

VI. The Party, ^{to fulfill its revolutionary mission} in order to understand the masses, must be bound to the masses and its force and vitality is its tie with the masses. Therefore, it is necessary that the Party have a policy that is realistic, effective and understanding ^{able to} of the masses. ^{The Plan of the Party, if it is to be successful, must be to Program of the} The Party must understand the decisive role ^{millions} of the masses in the revolution and must free itself of all sectarianism and fight against ~~all~~ subjectivism and individualism in its ranks. It must know that under present world conditions, it is the masses rather than the imperialist forces that are going to be decisive in the great struggle in which today all humanity is involved: the Fight for Peace. Thus, it is the great mission of the Communist Party to see to it that the masses are transformed into a great army that will guarantee the peace.

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Next 16 Page(s) In Document Denied

Questions of the Party

25X1

- I. Introduction.
- II. The problems of the Party are eminently ideological.
- III. Employ the powerful weapon of criticism and self-criticism.
- IV. Party discipline and internal democracy.
- V. Political vigilance, construction law of the Party.
- VI. Connection with the masses, our cause is the cause of the masses.
- VII. The proper selection of the cadre and control over the execution of the tasks.
- VIII. Unity, principal condition of the strength and power of the Party.
- IX. Conclusions.

I. Introduction

All that we have examined so far--the vast field of our Marxist concepts regarding problems of strategy, tactics, and ideology, always in the light of the teachings of the 19th Congress of the CPSU and of the lessons of Stalin--reveals that we have a brilliant future before us.

The essential thing is that we know how to apply the Program to the tasks and objectives indicated in Stalin's speech at the 19th Congress. Our people have a glorious future, but to make that future concrete, the Party is necessary above all else. The Party is the decisive factor; without it we can do nothing.

In the struggle to build the Party, there are two basic questions, which must be faced from the ideological viewpoint: 1) quantitative growth; 2) qualitative growth.

The correct solution of these two basic questions signifies the key to the victorious solution of the problems of the Brazilian revolution. How should we proceed to solve them? Party doctrine teaches us that there are two

courses, from which we cannot depart. The first is that we learn ^{from} the wise experience of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. The second is that we learn from the rich and painful experience of our Party in the struggle in defense of the working class and of the people. Comrade Prestes, in his report to the Fourth Congress, pointed out that, through the lack of a numerically strong and ideologically developed Party, and in spite of favorable objective conditions, we lost the opportunity of seizing power in 1930, 1935, and 1945.

In order for us to fully understand the solution to these two basic questions in the struggle to build a strong Party, we must pay particular attention to Chapter IV of the report of Prestes to the Fourth Congress. There, Prestes tries to explain, in a systematic manner, the teachings of the Central Committee of the CPSU and of our own experience (Prestes Prob. 64—p.101). The problems of the Party must be seen from the ideological viewpoint. All the organic, strategic, and tactical problems of the Party are eminently ideological. By looking at the problems of the Party from the ideological viewpoint, we have a powerful instrument in the struggle for the building of a strong Party: the Statutes are a theoretical, ideological, and organizational guide. By merely guiding ourselves by the Statutes we can count on one of the fundamental instruments for having the great Party which the political situation demands.

With the new statutes, we seek to confirm the Party's position, constantly improving its vanguard role.

Article 1—What the objective tasks are.

We are not a national liberating Party, but we do fight for the complete liberation of the working class, the reason why we are ~~internationalists~~ primarily internationalists, the Party of the class which fights, not merely for its own liberation, but for the complete liberation of all humanity.

There is constant concern over giving to the Party the characteristic of leader in the struggle, to elevate the vanguard role of the Party.

Five new changes. (Specified in the report of Amazonas) (p.185-p.64-1).

1. To abolish a solicitation.
2. New structure (regions).

3. Political management.

60% of the power is consumed in this area; this 60% is in the hands of Light. Only 20,000,000 of the population have light.

80% of the proletariat is in 1% of the territory. (80% of the industrial production is in 1% of the territory).

4. Company Committees; there are 39, having more than 5,000 workers.

5. Collective leadership.

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The struggle between the old and the new is the basis of our life and progress. (Stalin, at the Fourth Congress of the CPSU).

II. The problems of the Party are eminently ideological.

(Report of Prestes, page 98--fifth task).

The Party can grow only through the ideological struggle against the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology.

Do not remain prisoners of the petty bourgeoisie.

Ideological errors are not corrected by tactical changes. (Chapter IV of the report of Prestes).

Result: we depart from the tendency toward sectarianism.

(Arruda--Report regarding tendencies).

(Stalin--Regarding China, Problems 25 to 34).

The ideological struggle is essential for the purity of the Party in all its aspects. (Lenin--What to do).

III. Employ the powerful weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

We must be intransigent toward those who conceal their errors, mistakes, and weaknesses in the work of the Party. Criticism is a permanent method in the work of the Party. Criticism is not merely a method, it is a law for the development of the Communist Parties. Therefore, the Party that does not follow this law will fail.

Demolishing criticism: appropriate for the petty bourgeoisie; lacking in scientific content.

On the other hand: to take criticism as punishment, not to look upon it as enlightening.

We must learn to be modest; this depends on the ideological concept concerning the revolutionary movement. Contempt for the collective leadership, contempt for the masses and the comrades. We must pay attention to whatever is necessary to do, and not to what has been done.

Open the doors to the criticism of the bases.

If we demand criticism that is 100% correct, then we do not wish to engage in self-criticism. With only 5% of truth, it is worthy of applause. (Stalin--Concerning criticism) (Malenkov, to the 19th Congress)--(J. Amazonas--p.179).

IV. Party discipline and internal democracy.

(Amaz. p. 178)

Tendency toward two disciplines for the militants and the leaders.

(Lenin--"What to do" and "One step forward, two backward")

Equalitarian (Stalin, at the 17th Congress)

The most elevated discipline will be internal democracy.

(1) liberalism and (2) authoritarianism

(1) expression of the independent petty bourgeoisie, that we do not go as a class, but as individuals.

The second is to impose one's opinion on the others.

V. Political vigilance, construction law of the Party

(Amazonas, page 180)

(Prestes--Fifth task)

Vigilance is a law. Our vigilance is much lower than desired.

In Brazil, it concerns the nature of the governing class, with ideological deviations. They conclude with good faith. Vigilance with simultaneous and

successive errors. It may be opportunistic, playing the game of the enemy.
(Khrushchev--Report on the history of the CPSU).

VI. Connection with the masses. Our cause is the cause of the masses.

We must link ourselves with the masses, eliminating any possibility that this action be prevented. Combat spontaneity and sectarianism. The Party develops, fights, and works with the masses by organizing them. (Stalin--1906) (The crisis of the Party) (See the 7 political tasks--Prestes, to the Fourth Congress).

VII. The proper selection of the cadres and control over the execution of the tasks. (Prestes--Third task--p.96).

Leninist-Stalinist teaching.

Control is necessary: whether the organization or the members fulfill^{ed} the tasks, and the reasons why they ^{were} ~~not~~, or ^{were} ~~not~~, being applied. In 1952, we did not advance for this reason. We replaced the leadership of committees by the leadership of the secretariats. The best cadres become corrupted and bureaucratic if there is not a rigorous and systematic control: rendering of periodic reports on tasks.

(Arruda--Report of April) (Prestes--same).

(Prestes, to the Fourth Congress, p.96)

(If we remove one of these elements, we damage the seven.)

VIII. Unity, principal condition of the strength and power of the Party.

(P.176--Amazonas) P.64. Unity is a duty of every militant.

Without unity there is no victory.

(Five principles in the history of the Party and the six of Stalin on the fundamentals of Leninism)

The unity of the Party is the basis and model for the unity of the working class and of the people. Only by being united can the Party carry out the tasks of the revolution.

Unity is as important as our eyes.

IX. Conclusion

To be a Communist, one accepts the Program and the Statutes; the militant fulfills decisions and duties--(Amazonas--The Statutes)(Read the Thoughts of Stalin).

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Arruda -- Report of April -- Prob. 45 -- pages 110/111

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1. From what viewpoint should we face the problems of the Party?
2. What are the paths that we must tread to succeed in this matter?
3. What do the new Statutes signify for our Party?
4. Fundamentally, what does the first article establish?
5. What must we do to develop the ideological struggle in a correct and efficient manner against the bourgeoisie ideology?
6. How and why should we stimulate the criticism from the bases?
7. What was the [REDACTED] false [REDACTED] and dangerous disciplinary tendency that the traitor Crispin tried to introduce into the Party?
8. What are the main tendencies observed in our Party with regard to discipline?
9. Why is it necessary to fight intransigently to put an end to the spirit of good faith that still exists in our Party?
10. Why must we seriously develop vigilance within our Party?

11. What must we do to tighten the bonds of the Party with the masses?
12. What does it mean to watch over the unity of the Party?
13. What does it mean to be a Communist?
14. What are the duties that we have to the Party?

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Questions of the Party

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- I. Introduction.
- II. The problems of the Party are eminently ideological.
- III. Employ the powerful weapon of criticism and self-criticism.
- IV. Party discipline and internal democracy.
- V. Political vigilance, construction law of the Party.
- VI. Connection with the masses; our cause is the cause of the masses.
- VII. The proper selection of cadres and the control over the execution of the tasks.
- VIII. Unity, principal condition of the strength and power of the Party.
- IX. Conclusions.

I. All that we have examined so far in this course, that is, this vast field of our Marxist-Leninist concepts regarding problems of theory, ideology, strategy, and tactics, all this reveals that we have a brilliant future before us; it is enough that we know how to apply the Party Program, that we know how to carry out the tasks indicated at the Fourth Congress of our Party.

Our people have a glorious future, but for this, the Party is necessary above all else. The Party is the decisive factor.

Two basic questions, regarding the problems of our Party, must be faced from an ideological viewpoint: 1) the quantitative growth; 2) and the qualitative growth, in order to make of our Party, in the shortest time, a great and powerful instrument of the revolution.

The solution of this question represents the key to the victorious solution of the problems of the Brazilian revolution.

There are two courses for this: first and foremost, learn from the wise experience of the CPSU; secondly, also learn from the rich and painful experience

of our Party in the struggle of our people. On many occasions, because we did not know how to utilize these two experiences, we were close to power, but it escaped our grasp. Why did this happen? We lacked a Party that was strong in numbers and strong in ideology. This happened in 1930, 1935, and in 1945. Therefore, today, we can say that we must seek, in the experience of the CPSU and in the critical examination of our own experience, the powerful weapons necessary to forge a Party that will correspond to the hopes of our people. We must think of the historic and present role of our Party. It is necessary not to forget that today our people have only one hope, namely, our Party. But, we will fulfill that hope only if we are capable of thoroughly assimilating and applying, without vacillations, the rich experience of the CPSU. For this, also, it is necessary that we study, at the present time, the documents of the Fourth Congress of our Party and, in particular, our statutes which contain teachings taken from the experience of the CPSU and of our own Party.

Armed thus, we must view the problems of our Party always from an eminently ideological viewpoint, because all the problems of the Party—organic, political, strategic, or tactical—are, and always will be, problems that are eminently ideological.

One guide that will serve powerfully to forge our Party in the image of the Party of Lenin and Stalin are the Statutes of our Party, prepared with the great help of the CPSU, and still in accord with the greatest criticism of our experience.

Why are the questions of the Party raised with such force and with such critical and self-critical spirit by the CPSU?

Some comrades may even ask for an explanation of the existence of errors and deficiencies in the CPSU. Those who raise this question are necessarily idealists. The Party does not live in the air, it lives within reality itself. Today, tomorrow, and always, in our present struggle, in the Popular Democracy, in socialism, and even in Communism, we will raise the ideological, critical, and self-critical problems because this signifies the elimination of the old and the

development of the new. Criticism and self-criticism constitute a law of the development of the Party. Comrade Lhdanov said: "Criticism and self-criticism is the ~~special~~ special form of struggle between the old and the new, between that which is dying and that which is being born." This means that all those are lost, who, individually or in their organization, flee from criticism and self-criticism, shun the ideological struggle, thinking that they are defending their personality. We must kill the old in each one of us, that is, the bourgeoisie ideology, and we must augment the new, which is the socialist ideology. We must imbue each member, and the entire Party, with the socialist ideology.

II. We learn that the Party can grow only by elevating its ideological level, by developing the ideological struggle within its ranks against the concepts of the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie ideology. Comrade Prestes says: "The history of the PCB is a history of the struggle for the assimilation and application of Marxism-Leninism, and also the history of the struggle against the influence of the petty bourgeoisie within our Party, of the struggle to overcome all manifestations of opportunism of the "right" and of the "left" in the policy and activity of our Party."

The ideological struggle within our Party is impelled in an unsatisfactory manner. We do not train ourselves, for example, in vigilance against the infiltration of habits, customs, and viewpoints of the classes of petty bourgeoisie origin which come to the Party. If we do not resist this, it will be impossible for the Party to triumph; without this, the Party would even be in danger and might degenerate. Against the bourgeoisie ideology there can be no conciliation; it is necessary to fight with an offensive spirit and it is in the class struggle itself, in the application of the line and in the leadership of the revolution that errors are revealed, corrected, and ~~surmounted~~ surmounted. The ideological struggle, therefore, is absolutely necessary.

If the history of the PCB is a history of struggle, of contradictions within the Party, if the strengthening of the Party is achieved only by overcoming

these contradictions, it is evident that we must reveal and denounce all concepts that are foreign to the ideology of the proletariat. The ideological struggle is indispensable for the Party to preserve its purity and its independence. Lenin said: "Whatever hinders the spontaneous worker movement, whatever degrades the importance of the "conscious" element and the importance of the social-democracy, equals--entirely aside from the wishes of whoever does it--the strengthening of the influence of the bourgeoisie ideology within the worker movement."

We can only carry on the ideological struggle, in a just and efficient manner, against the bourgeoisie ideology that still exists in our ranks, if we are armed with the proletarian ideology. Hence, the necessity for the ideological education of our Party.

How many errors and doubts would be avoided if our Party were well acquainted with Marxism-Leninism?

Comrade Arruda says: "Bitter reverses were necessary so that we might clearly see the urgency of obtaining control in this field, an urgency imposed by the practical necessities of the revolutionary struggle. The theoretical criticism of our revolutionary experience is only possible to the extent that we assimilate the wise teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. Without this theoretical criticism, we will not achieve the Program of the Party."

It is clear that we have confidence in the Party and faith in the triumph of the cause of the proletariat, but this is not enough. If all the activity of the Party must be built on a strictly scientific base, our Party and each of us must master that science. See what comrade Malenkov teaches us in his report to the 19th Congress: (Probl. 42--page 95) "He who is retarded in the ideological and political field [sentence ends here]

III. Comrade Prestes tells us that we must learn from the CPSU to be intransigent toward any kind of deficiency in our work and toward all those who conceal their errors, in short, that we must confront and overcome the mistakes in our work. This

means that we must fully develop criticism and self-criticism within the Party, criticism and self-criticism that are not practiced enough in our ranks as a permanent means of improving our work, indissolubly linked with the very nature and spirit of the Party of the proletariat.

- Tendency to see defects, without seeing means to correct things.

- Tendency to see and talk about the defects of others, and not about one's own defects.

- Comrades who see the errors and weakness and who do not take the correct position, as if they had nothing to say regarding it. Each one of us is responsible for all the Party.

- The custom of not engaging in direct criticism, at the organization or meeting, is a shameful petty bourgeoisie position, whereby comments are made only behind one's back, outside the meetings.

- The attitude of complacency with mistakes, that one must not be very strict.

- Some believe that criticism is a denunciation of the personality, when in truth it is a way of helping the comrade.

- Others believe that criticism and self-criticism is a remission of sins, such as the religious women engage in faithfully every week.

- There is also destructive criticism, based on individualism. Criticism should not stem from personal problems, but rather from the interests of the Party.

- Some comrades feel that criticism is a punishment. In fact, it should always be an educational factor.

- From all the foregoing, it can be seen that criticism and self-criticism do not circulate freely within the Party. There is a tendency in the Party, especially among ^{some of} its leaders, toward self-sufficiency, toward being satisfied with what we have already done, toward resting on the small triumphs, toward adopting an air of importance and of false wisdom. It is necessary for us to develop criticism and self-criticism, especially in the primary organizations. In this regard, the CPSU gives us valuable lessons. See the report of comrade Shriatov at the

19th Congress which is found in Problem 49: "At times criticize the critics."

Therefore, let us eliminate the idea that the leaders know everything and the militants have nothing to learn. This, instead of uniting the Party leaders with the mass of militants, separates them, to the detriment of the Party.

Comrade Malenkov says: "Party militants who do not contribute to the development of criticism and self-criticism halt our advance; they lack the maturity to be leaders, and they cannot count on the confidence of the Party. We must educate the entire Party in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism in order to liquidate arrogance and discover modesty. What embellishes the Communist is revolutionary modesty. What does this mean? It means that what we owe to the Party, that what we do is always little in relation to what the Party gives, and that we could not achieve what we do without the participation of the whole Party."

IV. Comrade Prestes calls our attention to the fact that we should learn from the CPSU, with regard to the greater encouragement of internal democracy and the strengthening of Party discipline.

A formal attitude still exists in the Party with regard to the application of the Party resolutions. There is still too little boldness and perseverance in the struggle to carry out our tasks. We do not become disturbed, as we should, if the work does not go well. That is a frequent manifestation of lack of discipline in our ranks.

At times, there also arises the tendency toward two disciplines within the Party, one for the militants, and another for the leaders. The Party, however, has just one law, a single discipline for all the Communists, independent of their merits and the positions which they occupy. With regard to the leaders, let us remember what Prestes says: "The greater the responsibilities of a leader, the greater are his duties, and the better example he should set in his conduct."

What factors lead to the strengthening of discipline? They include the following:

CONFIDENTIAL

1) the subordination of personal interests to the interests of the Party; that is, the elevation of the Party spirit; the strengthening of the conscience, resoluteness, and self-sacrifice in the cause of the working class.

2) the most complete development of internal democracy.

It is necessary to extirpate two tendencies that exist in our Party: liberalism and authoritarianism.

Liberalism leads to ultra-democratism, which is an expression of petty bourgeois individualism.

Authoritarianism leads to the elimination of democracy; it is an expression of petty bourgeois personalism.

V. Comrade Prestes calls our attention to the teachings of the CPSU. Above all, we must be vigilant.

Lately, a dangerous tendency has developed in our Party toward a lessening of revolutionary vigilance. In spite of the report of February 1952, we do not develop sufficient vigilance within the Party, even though our Party is so close to the fortress of the enemy.

The enemies of the Party, the Trotskyites in 1938 in Sao Paulo, the liquidators of 1942 to 1945, the traitors Crispim and F. Lacerda--they did everything possible to prevent our Party from achieving its historic task. They tried to remove our Party from the correct revolutionary course. Today, more than ever before, we must be vigilant, strengthening and educating the Party, educating it in the spirit of loyalty to the CPSU, in the spirit of intransigence toward enemies of the Party, in the spirit of intransigent defense of the Program and of the Party statutes.

What is the cause of the lack of vigilance in our Party? The cause lies in the illusion concerning the nature of our struggle, an illusion whose ideological base is national reformism; it is the illusion-laden ideology of the petty bourgeoisie. It results from not understanding the dynamism of the class struggle, from not realizing what the enemy is capable of doing against our Party. Basically,

CONFIDENTIAL

it is the ideology which the enemy strives to introduce into our ranks, in order to be able to penetrate the fortress of the proletariat. It is not by accident that the Americans spend millions in the ^{any}provocation~~u~~ endeavors against the Communist Parties. It is necessary to terminate the petty bourgeois ingenuousness that still exists among us.

The CPSU teaches us that an increased political vigilance of the Communists and an intransigent struggle against ^{any}~~any~~ machinations of hostile elements represents an important condition for strengthening the Party.

VI. Prestes teaches us, referring to the experiences of the CPSU, that we must increase our ties with the masses, taking better care of the mass organizations. It is necessary to combat everything that prevents this; that is, it is necessary to combat, systematically, spontaneity and sectarianism.

The directing and organizing role of the Party is exercised fully only if the Party works with the Masses. For that reason, it is necessary for the Party to have a stronger bond with the masses.

Many of us in the Party say that we are separated from the masses, that we must unite with the masses; however, we do not go beyond this and do not get out of this situation. Stalin, however, in 1906, stated how we should act: "our organizations, continuing the general political work, should intervene tirelessly in all the small conflicts and unite those small conflicts ^{with} the great class struggle, aiding the masses in their protests and daily demands, and through ~~the~~ real processes, make known the great objectives of our Party." Here are concrete indications concerning how to unite our Party with the masses. Our cause is the cause of the masses.

Our reason for existence is the work of the masses; it is the elevation of the level of comprehension of the masses to the level of comprehension of the Party.

VII. Comrade Prestes teaches us that, in order for us to carry out our tasks successfully and quickly, it is necessary to know that the essential thing in the

work of the Party, according to Lenin and Stalin, is the proper selection of cadre and the systematic control over the execution of the tasks.

Many of our failures were caused by the non-observance of these Leninist-Stalinist teachings. In his report to the Fourth Congress, comrade Amazonas stated: "The matter of cadres takes on a primary importance for our Party. Good cadres that give impulse to Party activities represent a factor of first magnitude for the strengthening of the Party. On the other hand, bad cadres, who do not concern themselves with their own education and who remain indifferent toward the needs of the Party, create obstacles to the struggle for the victory of the Program and for the fulfillment of the tasks of the Party.■ As comrade Stalin teaches us, two fundamental criteria should serve to guide us in the selection of cadres, that is, their political capability and their practical aptitude."

And comrade Prestes, in his report to the Fourth Congress, gives us the important elements for the selection of cadres. These are: "Devotion to the cause of the working class and loyalty to the Party, as proved in actual practice; close union with the masses; the spirit of initiative and the feeling of responsibility; the spirit of discipline and intransigence in the struggle for the application of the Party line, against all deviations of Marxism-Leninism."

The ■ CPSU has always taught us that control over the fulfillment of tasks has a decisive importance for the advancement of the Party. Comrade Stalin teaches us: "A well-organized control is the reflector that helps eliminate work of the organization, and is always ready to expose the bureaucrats. It can be safely stated that nine-tenths of our mistakes and errors can be explained by the lack of a well-executed control of fulfillment. There is no doubt that with a good control of fulfillment of the central decisions, the mistakes and errors will certainly be foreseen. However, in order for this control to fulfill its aims, at least two conditions are indispensable: first, that the control over fulfillment be systematic and not episodic; second, that the control over fulfillment, at all Party levels, be led, not by second-rank comrades, but by those comrades with sufficient authority, by the leaders themselves." And we must look upon the

control not merely as an account of tasks already completed.

The CPSU teaches us: "To direct signifies to control the fulfillment of the directives issued, and not only the fulfillment of those directives, but the directives themselves, their adequacy or their inadequacy. It would be ridiculous to believe that all of our directives are adequate in all their parts. This does not happen and it cannot happen. Control over fulfillment consists precisely in our militants controlling, from practical experience, not only the fulfillment of our directives, but also the adequacy of these very directives."

VIII. The 19th Congress of the CPSU teaches us to develop and to fortify still more the unity of our Party, to guard the unity of our ranks like the pupils of our eyes.

The unity of our Party can only be fully achieved in the struggle against the adversaries of Marxism-Leninism, against the enemies who may be in the ranks of the Party. Zeal for the defense of the unity of the Party is the standard for evaluating the Party leader or militant.

Party unity, for us, is not conceived on the basis of a combination of various tendencies, with the free circulation of their viewpoints. No. The Party is not a bloc of various tendencies or groups living in symbiosis. The Party is one unit, a voluntary union of persons who are united by the same ideal. Therefore, the struggle for unity on the basis of one Program, one organization, one directorate, and one tactic, supported by the active struggle of the Party as a whole, one and indivisible, constitutes a law of development for the Party.

The organ of the Reports Bureau states: "Whoever tends toward divisionism or toward group struggles, strikes a blow against the very heart of the Party, and wishes to deprive it of its strength and of its power. Unity is a wellspring of strength and invincibility for the Party. It is the first duty of all militants."

IX. In order to deal with problems of the Party, we must understand that we are Communists, that we are members of the Party. The Party Statutes, in Art. 2, reveal what a Communist should be.

But the Party statutes also reveal the duties of the Communist, duties that must be rigorously fulfilled by Party members in order for them to become good Communists. The Communist duties indicate what the moral features of a Communist should be.

We should always remember how Stalin characterized the Party member during his solemn oath at the time of Lenin's death (Page 108--History of the CPSU).

Comrade Stalin also said: [statement not given].

The Communist takes care of Party questions with as much zeal as one gives to whatever he holds dear in life. Therefore, the Communist must be a man with Party spirit.

A delegate to the 19th Congress said: "Communists have just one rule of conduct; if they assume an obligation with the Party, they fulfill it; if they make a promise to the Party, they fulfill it." That should be our standard of conduct with regard to our Party.

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25X1

Page Denied

Next 20 Page(s) In Document Denied

Regarding the Statutes

25X1

For a new program, new methods and new organizations, new organic principles. It is necessary to have a Party that is ready for the application of the Program, which is decisive.

The Statutes were forged in the light of the ^{19th} ~~Third~~ Congress of the CPSU.

The Statutes represent the fundamental and inviolable law of the internal life of the Party structure.

For the Party to have unity of action, compliance with the Statutes is indispensable.

The former Statutes, prepared in 1945 during the period of illegality, do not correspond to the present situation. The standards were very general. Many articles are now outmoded. The very declaration of principles is no longer suitable.

Other statutes had to be prepared, in accordance with existing conditions, permitting the formation of a Party of a new type, in the image of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The Statutes are not immutable.

In 1922, the first Statutes were prepared. In 1925 (Second Congress), there were modifications; in 1945, there were further changes. Finally, the present Statutes were prepared at the Fourth Congress.

In the first chapter are the immediate and ultimate objectives (declarations and principles)--this is the minimum and maximum program.

We fulfill the Leninist principles concerning the exigency of being Party members.

Also ~~contained~~ contained in Chap. I is the principle of proletarian internationalism.

CONFIDENTIAL

Every member must adjust his life ^{to} ~~the~~ the framework of the Statutes and of the Program.

The Leninist principles for being a member of the Party:

- 1) Accept the Program and the Statutes.
- 2) Serve in one of the organizations.
- 3) Fulfill the duties of the Party.
- 4) Pay the monthly dues.

Duties (These were established, expanded, and modified with due consideration):

1. Guard the unity of the Party

Political (follow the political line)

Organizational (elimination of all blocs)

Ideological

Operational

The enemy strives by all external and internal means to destroy our unity:

Defeatists, Trotskyists, etc.

2. Participate actively in the political life.
3. Strengthen the bonds of the Party with the masses.

The participation of the great masses in our struggle represents the objective condition for our victory.

Prestes says that we are faithful servants of the people; carry the feeling of the masses to the Primary Organizations and to all echelons of the Party, so that we may know how to champion their problems.

Lenin said that it is necessary to be mixed up with the masses up to a certain point, to be of the same blood as the masses, to think of the masses day and night.

4. Raise the political and ideological levels.

The stress changes from quantity to quality. There is need for the Party to be on a high level; therefore, the militants must maintain that high level.

We can lead with success only if all the militants, including those of the primary organizations, understand the general meaning of our fight.

5. Observe ~~the~~ the discipline of the Party.

The Statutes make it compulsory for all organizations to render accounts periodically.

6. Develop criticism and self-criticism.

Combat comradeship, fellowship.

There is a great tendency toward reducing criticism. Example: Not to report the criticism in the record or document, etc.

7. Be honest and sincere toward the Party.

The Party member cannot have two lives.

Solitariness gives a false impression of the Party, and its consequences are disastrous.

8. Maintain Party secrets and give proof of vigilance and firmness in the face of the class enemy.

Follow the rules for illegal work.

Each militant must know that which it is strictly necessary for him to know.

In prison, it is necessary to continue the fight, under different conditions.

9. Apply a proper policy in the selection of cadres.

This is a new duty contained in the present Statutes.

Criteria for the selection of cadres.

(Prestes, Fourth Congress)

- a) devotion to the cause of the working class.
- b) faithfulness to the Party, as proven in practice in own life.
- c) close ties with the masses.
- d) spirit of initiative.

CONFIDENTIAL

e) feeling of responsibility.

f) spirit of discipline.

g) intransigence in the fight for the application of the political line of the Party and against deviations from Marxism-Leninism.

10. Solidarity with comrades who are victims of persecution.

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Another new point.

Rights - They guarantee greater participation in the collective leadership.

1. Participate in the free and responsible discussion of the problems of Party policies at meetings and in the Party press.
2. Vote and hold office in the directing organizations of the Party.
3. Criticize any member of the Party at a Party meeting.
4. Make proposals, suggestions, and observations; announce defects of Party work to any Party organization, including the Central Committee.
5. Demand personal participation whenever the matter concerns actions or conduct.

These rights are confused with the duties, for they both refer to the interests of the Party.

Organic Structure

The political division of Brazil is archaic, dating back to colonial times. It does not give due consideration to the various regions, or to their unequal development.

By the statute referred to, Amazonas was placed at the same level of importance as Sao Paulo. At the present time, [REDACTED] several states may be included in a

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region of the Party. On the other hand, there may be several Regional Committees within one state. There are also Regional Committees that include parts of several states. The Regional Committees were organized in accordance with economic and social conditions, class strength, etc.

The Central and Municipal Committees are disappearing.

Another important factor is the establishment of special political directorates by the Central Committee. These directorates may later become permanent, or they may be dissolved. Example: Strike of the seamen, etc.

Also, at the present time, organizing cadre of the Central Committee are sent to any locale.

Changes in names:

from ■ CN to CC; from Executive Committee of the CN to the Presidium of the CC; the CR, CZ (includes one or more municipalities, or portions thereof); OB (a name ■ that is self-explanatory).

New organizations: CC for control--for vigilance against the class enemy within the Party; and the CC for finances--for strict control of finances and vigilance against corruption.

Collective leadership represents the supreme principle of Party leadership. ■ In accordance with the ■ CPSU teachings, the individual responsibility does not diminish, it increases; every one is obliged to give an account^{ing} to his respective organization.

Only in special cases can a Secretary take individual resolutions.

Plenary sessions held without any preparation, or without a collective report, represent a serious infraction.

The excessive centralization of tasks is another grave infraction.

- 5 -

CONFIDENTIAL

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The new Statutes give great importance to the Primary Organizations.

Tasks of the Primary Organizations:

- a) carry on work of agitation and propaganda among the masses.
- b) always be alert to the feelings and demands of the masses, and transmit same to the Party.
- c) recruit new members and collect the fees, control their activities and behavior and enforce Party discipline among the militants.
- d) organize the political study by Party members, and control their assimilation of the minimum knowledge of Marxism-Leninism.
- e) develop criticism and self-criticism, and train the comrades to have an intransigent attitude with regard to deficiencies in Party work.

The Statutes must regulate even the lives of the militants: they are an educational factor.

Statutes — Prob. 64

Amazonas Report — Prob. 54

" " — of the Fourth Congress — Prob. 64

-6-

CONFIDENTIAL

25X1

Page Denied

Next 80 Page(s) In Document Denied

INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Two Worlds -- Two Systems

25X1

(1917-1941)

SUMMARY

- I. Beginning of the disintegration of world capitalism
 - a. Division of the world into two systems
 - b. Decadence of the capitalist economy
 - c. Sharpening of the conflicts between the workers and capitalists
 - d. Sharpening of the conflicts between the imperialist powers and the colonial and dependent peoples
 - e. Sharpening of the conflicts among the imperialist powers
- II. Two policies on international matters
 - a. Capitalist encirclement of the USSR
 - b. Peace policy of the USSR
 - c. Aggravation of the threat of war
 - d. Formation of a center of war in the Far East
 - e. Formation of a center of war in the West
 - f. Struggle of the USSR to organize collective security
 - g. Cohabitation of the principal imperialist powers with Fascist aggressors
 - h. The USSR consolidates its own security
- III. Beginning of World War II
 - a. The German Fascist invaders launch World War II
 - b. The war in Europe

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I. In October 1917 the Russian proletariat destroyed the power of the bourgeoisie and installed a new regime, the socialist regime, breaking with the imperialist front. The great socialist October Revolution was a mortal blow to world capitalism. The foundations of capitalism were shaken.

- a. After that, capitalism no longer had the strength to recover from the blow it had suffered. A country as great and rich as Russia, which makes up one sixth of the surface of the globe (22 million square kilometers) had broken away from the world capitalist system. Thereafter, the world divided into two systems, the capitalist and the socialist. Two centers of gravity took shape: one, the USSR; the other consisting of the principal capitalist countries.

Stalin said, "The October Revolution, in shaking imperialism, at the same time created the first dictatorship of the proletariat, a powerful and alert base for the world revolutionary movement, a base which this movement had never had before, and on which it can now establish itself. It has created a powerful and open center for the international revolutionary movement, a center which it had never had, and around which it can achieve solidarity, organizing a single revolutionary front of the proletariat and of the oppressed peoples who are struggling against imperialism."

The October Revolution marks the beginning of the disintegration of the world capitalism in both the economic and the political fields. Stalin said, "The October Revolution struck a mortal blow at world capitalism, a blow from which it will never recover, and for this very reason capitalism will never again regain that "equilibrium" and that "stability" which it had before the October Revolution."

- b. The economic development of the capitalist countries is interrupted periodically by depressions which give rise to unemployment, poverty, and starvation of the workers.

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After World War I, depressions became more frequent, painful, and destructive. Before World War I, the intervals between depressions were from 8 to 12 years. After each depression there was a boom, production rose, and unemployment fell. After World War I there was no recovery in the capitalist economy. Even in the periods of relative stability and increase in production, the industrial enterprises operate in a state of constant partial paralysis, and unemployment also is constant.

Between World Wars I and II, the industry of the principal capitalist countries used from half to two thirds of their productive capacity. Immediately after World War I, economic chaos developed in Europe. During this period, industrial production in the European countries reached only 80 to 90 percent of the prewar figure.

Europe recovered as the result of "aid" from US capitalism. This "aid" was paid for by the financial subjection of Western Europe to the US. The US then became the principal financial exploiter in the world. During the second half of 1929, a depression of unprecedented extent and intensity was unleashed. This depression affected not only the industry but also the agriculture of the capitalist countries. Industrial production in the US in 1932 was cut in half. That of Germany decreased 40 percent, that of France 30 percent. As the result of the depression, millions and millions of workers were left unemployed, totaling 30 million unemployed. The depression of 1929 lasted for 5 years, while its predecessors had lasted from 2 to 3 years. The world economic crisis lasted until 1933. *In that* ~~year~~ the drop in production stopped. The depression became stagnation. Then, later, a sort of industrial surge arose, though nothing amounting to such a blossoming of industry as usually takes place during the economic cycles preceding World War I.

The industry of the capitalist world did not return to the 1929 level after the depression. In 1938 the number of unemployed was 18 million.

Stalin said, "The characteristic feature of this new depression is that it differs from those of the past, differs for the worse and not for the better."

Whereas in the USSR industrial production in 1938 amounted to 477% of the 1929 figure, that of the US amounted to 72% and that of France, 70% of the 1929 level.

- c. After World War I and the October Revolution, the basic conflicts of capitalism became still more acute. These conflicts were those between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, those between imperialist on the one hand and colonial and dependent countries on the other, and those among the capitalist countries themselves.

Unemployment is the principal scourge suffered by the workers of the capitalist countries. The capitalists do everything possible to unload the burden of depression onto the shoulders of the workers. The average annual wage of the US workers in 1933 was 43 percent less than in 1929. In Japan and Italy, for example, the working day was lengthened to 10 or 12 hours, and in factories producing war materiel it was as much as 16 hours long.

The Communist parties headed the working-class struggle against capitalism. They arose after the Great October Revolution, especially during the revolutionary struggles which occurred between 1918 and 1920. The Communist parties took form, therefore, under the direct influence of the struggle of the Russian proletariat for power, a struggle which proved to be victorious. The most enlightened and progressive sectors of the working class, the most revolutionary elements of the proletariat, were to be found in the ranks of the Communist parties. But the Communist parties were still fairly fragile and very weak. They did not have leaders with revolutionary experience and with sufficient theoretical background to face the problems of the Revolution.

The Communist parties, in their turn, did not maintain communications among themselves, which complicated the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat. For this reason, the Communist International, known as the Third International, was founded in 1919, on Lenin's proposal.

The Communist International (Comintern) played a distinguished role in the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat. We can distinguish the following basic tasks performed by the Comintern:

1. It strengthened the bonds among the workers of different countries; it enlarged the ties of fraternity and solidarity of the Communist parties throughout the world.

2. It worked out the most important theoretical and tactical problems of the world workers' movement, aided by the genius of Lenin and Stalin.

3. It helped to educate the most important leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties.

In 1943, the Comintern, through its Executive Committee, was dissolved, because it had already fulfilled its historic mission. The Communist parties had already matured politically, theoretically, and ideologically, and they no longer needed such direct aid as that of the Comintern. On the other hand, every Communist ^Party had to face situations which were characteristic of its own country. The disappearance of the Comintern did not mean that the world-wide directing and motive force had disappeared.

At the present time, the great, powerful, and wise CPSU exists. Its strategy and tactics are a model for all the Communist ^Parties throughout the world. Its theoretical and ideological heritage, constantly enriched by Lenin and Stalin, is a heritage of the international movement. To give an idea of the growing influence of the Communist ^Parties among the masses, let us cite the fact that the German CP in 1932 won 6 million votes in the elections for the Reichstag.

In order to stifle the growing revolutionary movement, and to prevent the victory of the Revolution, which was inevitable, the bourgeoisie began

to make use of the most violent types of governmental methods. Terror became the norm. Crimes and assassinations of all kinds were used against the working class. In order to eliminate the proletarian organizations and to guarantee the survival of the capitalist system, the bourgeoisie created the Fascist parties, with their paramilitary formations. Faced by the advance of the revolutionary movement of the working class, the bourgeoisie set forth on the road of open Fascism.

"Fascism is the frankly terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinistic, the most imperialistic elements of financial capitalism" (Dimitrov).

The forms of Fascism vary greatly from country to country, but they are influenced by the following factors:

- 1) Historical, social, and economic conditions;
- 2) National characteristics;
- 3) The international situation of each country.

National Characteristics -- The forms of Fascism vary according to the traditions and the mentality of the local population. In Germany they are affected by the militaristic traditions of the German people.

International Situation of Each Country -- In a country like the US, the form of Fascism cannot be the same as that in a backward country or colony.

Fascism is not a simple substitution of one bourgeois government for another. It is the replacement of a form of government which is nominally a government of the bourgeoisie, by another form of government, the replacement of bourgeois democracy by open terrorist dictatorship. However, Fascist dictatorship is not a sign of a powerful bourgeoisie.

"It is an indication of weakness of the bourgeoisie, an indication that the bourgeoisie is no longer able to dominate through the old methods of parliamentarianism and bourgeois democracy; and therefore it is forced to resort to terrorist methods of government in its internal policy." (Stalin).

d. After world War I and the October Revolution, the conflicts between the imperialistic powers and the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries intensified. Thereafter the imperialists intensified further the exploitation and the oppression of the colonial and dependent peoples. Actually, imperialism tried to get out of its difficulties not only through exploitation of the workers of its own country, but also through that of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries.

The wages of the workers in dependent countries and colonies are a small fraction of those in the mother country. In India, infant mortality and the maternal death rate are 600 percent of the British rate. The average life expectancy in India is 25 years. In Recife, Salvador, Maceio, and Natal (in Brazil), 450 out of every 1,000 infants die every year. The death rate in Brazil is one of the highest in the world.

The imperialists do everything possible to safeguard this monstrous system of plunder, but since the October Revolution the colonial system of imperialism has been shaken more and more, has been disintegrating, has been in a state of crisis.

The peculiarity of this new period is the fact that the struggle has been directed by the working class. The October Revolution indicated to the oppressed nations that they also could free themselves from the imperialist yoke and could win a free, prosperous, and happy country.

Under the influence of the October Revolution, the most powerful liberation movement recorded in history, the revolution in China, took form. This movement, begun under the influence of the October Revolution, was victorious after World War II, and is the most important fact of history since the October Revolution.

Since the October Revolution, the demand for the right to self-determination of nations has been a part of the world proletarian revolution. The

distinguishing feature of the revolution is its proletarian quality. The working class of the capitalist countries is struggling against the bourgeoisie which exploits and oppresses it. It is struggling to destroy the power of the imperialists. The oppressed peoples of the colonial and dependent countries are struggling against imperialist domination and enslavement, to free themselves from the yoke of foreign imperialism. Hence, from the internal point of view, the task of the revolution in the colonies and dependencies was to achieve a bourgeois-democratic revolution, an agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution.

From the external point of view, it is a part of the world revolution.

Two movements are arising in the struggle for liberation of the colonies and dependencies: one directed by the working class, which wants to carry the revolution further; the other directed by the bourgeoisie, which wants to retain the leadership of the movement. For this reason, the nationalist factor plays an important part at the beginning of the struggle.

- e. After World War I and the October Revolution, the conflicts among the imperialist powers intensified. With the reduction of the field of action of the imperialist powers, and in view of the existence of the law of unequal development of capitalist countries, the conflicts among the imperialists increased.

After World War I, the US strengthened itself remarkably and began to penetrate the sphere of influence of other imperialist countries: South America, Canada, China, etc. The struggle arose in the first place between the US and British imperialists and between the US and Japan over domination of the Pacific region.

At the same time, Britain and France were struggling for the mastery of Europe, while the Italian bourgeoisie began to develop.

Mussolini tried to dominate the Mediterranean and win new colonies. German imperialism revived, aided by the imperialists of other countries.

From 1924 to 1929, the influx of foreign capital into Germany amounted to 15 billion marks in long-term investments and more than 6 billion marks in short-term investments. Seventy percent of the long-term investments were from the US.

CHAPTER TWO

-I-

Although the conflicts among the imperialist powers were intensifying, the strongest conflict in the postwar world was that between the capitalist world and the USSR. This conflict began to develop rapidly, began to improve the welfare of the masses. The imperialists saw in this a threat to the existence of capitalism itself as a system. Therefore, they made use of all their resources, with the purpose of eliminating the Soviet power. Therefore, the capitalist encirclement took shape.

"Capitalist encirclement means that one country has established a socialist system within its own frontiers, and that many countries (the bourgeois countries) continue to preserve the capitalist way of life; it means that they are encircling the USSR, watching for an opportunity to attack it, to destroy it, or, at least, to undermine its power and weaken it." (Stalin).

The struggle against capitalist encirclement is a task of the Soviet people, but the working class and the peoples of the colonies and dependencies, also have an interest in destroying the encirclement, as they have a vital interest in the destruction of imperialism. This is, therefore, an international task.

When the bourgeoisie is destroyed in the principal imperialist countries, capitalist encirclement will disappear.

- b. While the imperialists were doing everything possible to drag humanity into a new war, the USSR was struggling stolidly for the

maintenance of peace. The USSR was carrying out a consistent peace policy, as the need for peace flows from the very nature of the USSR. The basic objective of the foreign policy of the USSR is to safeguard the peaceful labor of the Soviet countries.

Faced with capitalist encirclement, the USSR is trying to strengthen its own armed forces, which have the following objectives:

- 1) To defend national interests;
- 2) To guard the integrity of the Soviet frontiers;
- 3) To guard the peaceful labor and the security of the Soviet peoples.

In its struggle for peace, the USSR guided itself by the basic principles of Leninist-Stalinist policy, which are as follows: (Stalin in his speech to the XVIIIth Congress):

- 1) We are in favor of peace and the strengthening of commercial relations with all countries. We occupy and will continue to occupy this position, as long as other countries desire relations with the USSR, as long as they do not try to harm the interests of our country.

- 2) We are in favor of peaceful relations with all countries that border on the USSR.

- 3) We are in favor of support for the victims of aggression.

- 4) We are not afraid of the threats of aggressors, and we are ready to reply with two blows for every blow of the enemy.

c. Although the conflict between the USSR and the capitalist world was very deep after World War I, this conflict did not determine the course of events. The depression sharpened the struggle for markets and for a redivision of the world, and this led to a new imperialist war. In this period, military expenditures increased, the armaments race sharpened, and, in a word, imperialism was openly preparing for a new world war. With the preparation for this war, the bourgeoisie planned first of all to liquidate the USSR and to settle thereby the conflicts which were lacerating the capitalist world.

- d. In consequence of this war policy, Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 without any declaration of war, with the purpose of taking over all China, the Far East, and the western Pacific islands, in order to dominate Asia.

Thus the first focus of war formed in the Far East.

- e. The depression of 1929-1933 deepened the conflicts not only in the Far East, but also in Western Europe. Unemployment, poverty, and starvation increased, especially in Germany.

The German bourgeoisie, aware of its own weakness, raised Hitler to power in 1934. Britain, France, and the US approved this action. The workers' organizations were destroyed, and the German people were deprived of all of the most elementary liberties. Trying to unleash a war, the Nazis developed an intensive propaganda campaign against the other countries. They instilled in the German people the idea of race superiority. They preached racism passionately.

The minds of the youth were perverted by a savage nationalism. Thus, a new focus of war took shape in the heart of Europe. The USSR, taking cognizance of this fact, began to strengthen its frontiers.

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia and converted it into an Italian colony.

- f. While the danger of war was increasing, the USSR was struggling steadfastly for peace, unmasking aggressions. It entered the League of Nations in 1934, sponsored by 30 nations. It defended collective security there and endeavored to create a civilian front of peace-loving nations against Fascism and aggression.

In 1936, the Fascist Axis was formed between Rome and Berlin.

The USSR took advantage of all available methods to defend peace, but it did not succeed in achieving a solid front of nations united against war.

- g. The imperialist countries regarded Hitler's Germany as an instrument to be launched against the USSR, against the working class and the

national liberation movement. That is why Britain and France rejected the mutual-security proposal under the pretext of nonintervention.

In 1936, Germany and Italy perpetrated armed intervention in Spain. Britain and France acted as accomplices in this aggression.

In 1937, Japan invaded China and occupied Shanghai.

In 1938, Hitler's Germany invaded Austria and annexed it to Germany. Britain and France did not oppose this new aggression. They tried to divert the war toward the East. The ruling circles in these countries incited Hitler to attack the USSR.

h. Germany continued to plunder Europe. It dominated Rumania through Antonescu.

At the Munich Conference of September 1938, Czechoslovakia was handed over to Hitler by Chamberlain and Daladier of Britain and France respectively.

"The USSR will not pull chestnuts out of the fire for the imperialists", said Stalin.

In August 1939, Germany proposed a nonaggression treaty with the USSR, and the latter accepted, gaining thereby a year and a half in which the USSR prepared its resources. In September 1939 the USSR began to organize its defense on the eastern front.

CHAPTER III

a. The policy of the governments of Britain and France was anti-Soviet and resulted in utter failure. They were the victims of their own treachery. War began against them and not against the USSR.

On 1 September 1939, Germany attacked Poland, and Britain and France were compelled to declare war on Germany. The Polish army was annihilated.

The USSR knew that Germany would attack it, and therefore it annexed Byelorussia and the western Ukraine. Germany turned against Finland, the government of which sold out completely.

The Soviet frontier was seriously threatened, especially Leningrad. In November 1939, Fascist Finland attacked the USSR. Finland was defeated, and in March 1940 it signed a treaty and drew back its frontiers.

The USSR also tried to sign treaties with the Baltic countries. In the summer of 1940 the masses of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania overthrew their bourgeois governments and requested annexation to the USSR.

b. Germany gathered its forces, and Britain and France prepared to face aggression. The bourgeoisie of these countries preferred German aggression to the victory of the people. In April 1940, Germany invaded Denmark and Norway, which surrendered unconditionally.

Then it was the turn of Belgium, Holland, and Luxemburg (May 1940).

In June 1940 came the fall of Paris - unconditional surrender. Britain was cruelly bombarded, but was not invaded, since Germany turned against the USSR.

On 22 June 1941, Germany invaded the USSR. Thus began a new period in the history of mankind.

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Next 12 Page(s) In Document Denied

Summary

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1. New weakening of capitalism and strengthening of socialism:
 - a. The camp of imperialism has been considerably reduced.
 - b. The great successes of the democratic forces.
 - c. Formation of two camps: that of imperialism and that of democracy.
 2. US imperialism is the worst enemy of peace, liberty, and national independence.
 - a. US imperialism struggles for world domination.
 - b. The cold-war policy.
 - c. Rightist socialists are agents of imperialism.
 - d. Intensification of the conflicts in the camp of imperialism.
 - e. Traits and specific peculiarities which characterize the present international situation.
 3. The USSR as the main directing force of the democratic camp.
 - a. The basic line of Soviet foreign policy.
 - b. The Soviet program for a lasting and democratic peace.
 - c. Soviet policy in relation to the countries which were defeated in World War II: position toward Germany and Japan.
 - d. The USSR defends the independence of nations.
 - e. The USSR and the UN.
 - f. The USSR defends peaceful coexistence between the countries of the capitalist and socialist systems.
 - g. Task of the Soviet CP in the field of foreign policy.
- 1.a. The victory of the peace-loving peoples, and especially of the Soviet peoples, in the war against the Fascist aggressors brought essential changes in the international situation. As a result of the defeat of Nazi Germany, of Fascist Italy, and of militarist Japan, the balance of power in the field of world politics changed in favor of the socialist system. The imperialists, in participating in World War II, had as their objective the liquidation or the weakening

of the USSR, the smothering of the international democratic movement. As a result of the victory over the Fascist aggressors, the USSR became more powerful and increased its authority and prestige in the international arena.

As a result of World War II, the capitalist system received a heavy blow, and world capitalism came out of World War II greatly weakened.

The camp of imperialism was considerably reduced.

The Soviet armies had liberated the peoples of the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe.

These peoples had abolished the power of the great capitalist landowners and had installed a people's-democratic regime.

Germany, Japan, and Italy had ceased to be great powers.

France also came out of the war greatly weakened and lost her position as a great power.

Britain came out of World War II with her military and political power greatly shaken.

Now, in place of six great powers, there remain only the US and Britain.

b. The people's-democratic countries of Central and Southeastern Europe, the people directed by the working classes, had achieved great and deep-seated economic and social transformations, creating conditions necessary for the building of a socialist society. In these countries the ownership of estates, of banks, of transportation facilities, and of heavy and medium industry was abolished, and they became possessions of the state. It became possible to work out new constitutions which consolidated the people's-democratic regime. In these countries the people's-democratic regime performs the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The workers' parties existing in these countries united into a single workers' party.

The other parties existing there recognized the leadership of the party.

On the other hand, a movement arose on a world-wide scale which is recorded in the history of mankind: the World Movement of the Partisans of Peace, under

whose banner hundreds of millions of people struggle who aspire toward peace and a happy life.

The working class is uniting and organizing on a world-wide scale under the banner of the F.S.M. (72 million workers united at the Congress of Milan in 1949). The women also are organizing on a scale never before achieved, into the F.D.I.M. (more than 100 million women from 60 countries), and the youth are organizing into the F.M.J.D. (70 million youth from 63 countries). This illustrates the great advance of the democratic movement and reveals its strength and scope and the prodigious growth of the Communist and workers' parties. Twenty years ago there were only 500 thousand active members of the Communist Party in the world.

Today there are 24 million Communists outside the USSR. The Soviet CP has over 7 million members, and the tendency is for the Communist parties to continue to grow. Since World War II, the national liberation movement in colonies and dependencies also has been stimulated to an extent never before achieved. The crisis of the colonial system of imperialism began with the October Revolution, but it was the period since World War II that emphasized it. The colonial system of imperialism is openly crumbling. In the struggle of the colonials and dependent peoples for their liberty, the victory of the Chinese people against the imperialist enslavers, a victory of world-wide historic importance, stands out. As Zdanov stated: "The crisis of the colonial system, which has been intensified as a result of World War II, is revealed in the powerful impulse in the national movement in the colonies and dependencies."

c. During World War II, the countries which had fought against Germany, Japan, and Italy were marching side by side. But the objectives of the allies in the struggle against Nazism were different, as were their plans for the organization of the world after the war. The USSR and the other countries of peace, in participating in World War II, were struggling for the following objectives:

1) the complete defeat of Hitlerist Germany and militarist Japan; 2) the liquidation

of Fascism; 3) the restoration and strengthening of the democratic system in the countries which were victims of Fascism; 4) prevention of a world war; 5) assurance of peaceful and lasting cooperation among nations.

The British and American imperialists had the following objectives in participating in World War II: 1) the weakening of Germany and Japan in order to free themselves of rivals; 2) the weakening of the USSR, causing the USSR to lose its position as a great power, and making it dependent on the US and Britain; 3) establishment of their domination throughout the world.

In the presence of this policy in the world arena, two fairly clear policies began to define themselves. The existence of these two policies led to the formation of two camps of countries: the imperialist and antidemocratic camp, and the democratic and antiimperialist camp.

The division of the world into two camps is a new phenomenon which is characteristic of the postwar period. It is not a geographic division between the countries of the west and of the east, although there is a certain geographic pattern; it is a question of the policy followed by these countries.

Countries in which a capitalist system prevails may belong to the democratic camp as long as they have a peaceloving government.

With the formation of two camps, two very clear tendencies in world politics appeared. The US is the axis of the imperialist camp, its directing and its basic force. It is the center of world reaction, the center for the preparation for a new war.

In leading the imperialist camp, the Americans are trying:

- 1) To solve their own internal and foreign conflicts;
- 2) To consolidate capitalism;
- 3) To liquidate socialism and democracy;
- 4) To enslave the peoples of the world;
- 5) To change the balance of power on the international scene in their own

favor.

Britain also belongs to the imperialist camp. Britain was an ally of the US which came out of World War II greatly weakened, and today she is economically and militarily dependent on the US.

France and Italy also belong to the imperialist camp. The bourgeoisie of these countries came out of the war greatly weakened. The democratic movement in these countries is strongly in the ascendant.

In order to keep themselves in power, the bourgeoisie have recourse to US "aid" and become lackeys of the Yankee imperialists.

Belgium and Holland have great colonial possessions, in which the struggle for national liberation is intensifying. Besides Belgium and Holland, Spain, Turkey, Portugal, the countries of the Near East, and all Latin America belong to the imperialist camp.

The democratic camp is lined up against the imperialist camp. The main force is the USSR, the irreconcilable enemy of the imperialists.

The members of the democratic camp are the people's democracies of Central and Southeastern Europe and of Asia, China, Mongolia, Korea, Vietnam, and the GDR. The Asiatic nations which are struggling against imperialism (Malaya) also belong.

The democratic camp is supported by the workers' and democratic movement in the capitalist countries.

CHAPTER II

The US imperialists had as their objective in waging World War II new plundering of the other countries. They had won fabulous profits as the suppliers of armaments and war materiel. In the 5 years preceding World War II, the profits of the US monopolies amounted to 17.5 billion dollars. During the 6 years of the war they amounted to 53 billion.

The imperialists profited by and took possession of new markets and subjugated the countries of Europe, including those which had developed under their domination. They had worked out the Marshall Plan to further this policy of

plunder, a plan which was one of the most important instruments of economic and political enslavement of the nations of Europe. The plan wore a mask of philanthropy, as the imperialists had begun to distribute dollars.

The Marshall Plan also was a plan for political domination, for preparing the countries for a new war.

Immediately after the Marshall Plan, the Communists were expelled from the governments of France and Italy. The US imperialists did not conceal their plans for building an American world empire.

They openly prepared a new war. The 1951-52 budget of the US envisions the expenditure, for military purposes, of amounts 60 times greater than those of 1938-39, the eve of World War II, and twice as much as those of 1941-42, at the height of World War II.

The armed forces of the US, Britain, and France combined have an effective strength of over 5 million men, a number many times the prewar figure. The US has created a ground, air, and naval net hundreds of kilometers long around the countries of the North American continent. The US has subjected its entire economy to military objectives.

The US has revived the racist theory of the Hitlerites. The Americans say that the English-speaking nations are destined to rule the world (although they form a minority in the world).

In 1949 the US, Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, and Iceland signed the North Atlantic Pact, a military alliance of a frankly aggressive nature, directed against the USSR and the people's democracies, against the national liberation movement of peoples and the democratic force throughout the world.

c. The war policy played a distinguished part in the preparation for and in the launching of a new war. It consists of the measures taken by the US millionaires to create artificially a state of tension in the international scene.

The cold war policy gives rise to:

1. Crude interference on an unprecedented scale in the internal affairs of other countries, and systematic provocations against free and sovereign states, a campaign of sabotage against the legitimate governments of sovereign states.

2. All the activity of the US government in foreign policy is geared to serve the interests of cold war. The US State Department and its diplomacy are in the service of cold war. Its activity consists in artificially creating a state of international tension.

3. Even the cultural relations between the US and the other countries have the objective of serving cold war.

4. The cold-war policy leads more and more to the replacement of normal diplomatic relations by a policy of impositions, of disorganization of international economic relations, and in the worsening of relations among nations.

c. In their struggle to prepare and launch a new war, the American and British imperialists are counting on the open support of the leaders of the Social-Democratic parties, or rightist Socialists. They are agents of the bourgeoisie^{ie} inside the very working class, and thus are lackeys of the US and British imperialists for the enslavement of their peoples. The rightist governments are more steadfast defenders of bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie themselves; without the rightist governments the bourgeoisie could not stay in power (Lenin).

British Labor Party -- the workers came to power because they made big promises to the British people: connections with US business, nationalization of the principal branches of industry, a policy in favor of the working class. Once in power, the Labor government turned against the colonies (Malaya and Burma). In foreign policy it followed the US.

In France -- the rightist socialists are following the French bourgeoisie and are helping in the campaign against the working class and against the democratic movement. They issue laws against the worker and use military forces against workers on strike.'

Soviet-Yugoslav Relations -- Since 1947 there has been an abnormal situation with respect to the relations between Yugoslavia on the one hand and the USSR and the People's Democracies on the other. The imperialists fostered this situation by making Yugoslavia a base of support for its own policy. In 1955 the Soviet government, considering that there had been mistakes on both sides, took the initiative in solving the problems of these relations.

a. The conflicts among the imperialists over markets for the sale of goods and investment of capital, and over sources of raw materials, are becoming more intense. The US imperialists, simultaneously with their policy of a new war, are taking over colonies, and are making free countries such as France, England, Holland, and Belgium subject to the US, and are continuing to take over their colonies.

The internal conflicts within each of the capitalist countries between the bourgeoisie on one hand, and the working class and the masses of the people on the other, are becoming more acute.

In 1950 there were 45 million totally and partially unemployed in the capitalist world. As the result of militarization, military budgets are growing and taxes increasing. In the US about a third of the worker's wages goes to pay taxes. In the US the Congress issues laws directed against the workers (the Taft-Hartley Act against the right to strike).

E. The US has abandoned the policy of international cooperation. It has abandoned the compromises of Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam and threatened the world with a new world war.

The following traits and peculiarities of the international situation were mentioned by Malenkov to the XIXth Congress:

1) The principal aggressive power is the US. The US has pushed the other capitalist countries, especially the countries of the Atlantic bloc, toward war.

2) The governmental circles of the US habitually speak of the creation of a "community" of free nations which are fighting to defend democracy -- but the liberty which exists in these countries is the freedom of exploitation of the masses.

3) Britain, France, Belgium, and Holland are renouncing their own national policy in order to follow the policy dictated by the US imperialists. The armed forces of these countries are under US command.

4) The rightist social democrats, the British Labor Party, the French Socialist Party, and the Social Democrats of West Germany bear the direct

responsibility for the renunciation of their own national interests and are supporting the policy of liquidation of the independence of their own countries.

5) One of the characteristics of the strategy of the US imperialists consists in the desire of the US military leaders to make their plans for aggression so as to utilize foreign territory and armies: those of Yugoslavia, France, and Italy, *as well as those of* ~~Germany~~ Germany and Japan.

6) The US imperialists are trying to present their "cold-war" policy as a policy for defense and peace.

7) In order to launch war, the US imperialists have installed a brutal Fascist system in the US.

8) This confirms the weakness of imperialism and leads to a violent intensification of the struggle within the imperialist camp between the democratic forces and the Fascist camp.

9) An unprecedented peace movement arose in the world in the face of the threat of war. This movement constituted a mobilization against war of various classes and social strata, with the objective of maintaining a definite peace for a definite period.

The international situation is characterized above all by the great achievements of the USSR, of the people's republics, of the classes, and of all the camps of peace, in the struggle for the relief of international tension, for peace, and for the prevention of a new world war. (Malenkov, Prob. 30).

CHAPTER III

The USSR is carrying out a firm policy in defense of peace. The basic line of Soviet foreign policy is the defense of peace and the security of the people. In Soviet society there are no social forces which have anything to gain by war. The classes which make up the USSR are vitally interested in peace in order that they may be able to build Communism. All the activity of Soviet foreign policy has the aim of maintaining and consolidating peace.

B. Soviet Program for a Democratic and Lasting Peace

1. To free the peoples of Europe from the yoke of the Fascist invaders.
2. To help these peoples to become free and independent again.
3. To grant these peoples full rights and the liberty to solve the problems of their national organization for themselves.
4. To punish severely all war criminals.
5. To establish an order in Europe which will entirely exclude the possibility of a new war caused by Germany.
6. To create long-term economic, political, and cultural cooperation among the countries of Europe, based on confidence and mutual aid, for the restoration of the economy and of the culture destroyed by the Germans.

The USSR is struggling for peace and against such war and against war itself, even among the imperialist countries, because such a war would eventually involve the USSR also.

C. In Relation to the Conquered Countries

The fact of being absorbed by the victorious powers in the Soviet State is creating a situation of opportunity unprecedented in human history, for the conquered. The USSR does not have the objective of plunder, rapine, or enslavement of other peoples. Its position is:

1. The USSR is protecting the peaceful and democratic development of these countries.
2. Increasing the civilian industry and the agriculture of these countries.

3. Guaranteeing the export of the products of these countries to foreign markets.

4. Assuring these countries the right of establishing the armed forces which are essential to their protection.

Germany -- "The USSR celebrates victory, but it does not intend to dismember nor to annihilate Germany." (Stalin). In relation to Germany, the USSR firmly defends the principles established in the Potsdam Resolutions. In the part of Germany which is occupied by Soviet troops, war industry has been abolished, creating conditions for the extensive development of the peace policy, the liquidation of the capitalist monopolies, the transfer of land to the peasants, the punishment of Fascist criminals, the freedom of democratic agencies, parties, and trade unions. The USSR proposes the signing of a peace treaty with Germany and the withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany.

A united Germany linked democratically to the USSR is an important factor for peace. It excludes the possibility of new wars in Europe and the serfdom of the peoples of Europe to German imperialism.

Japan -- The policy of the USSR toward Japan is determined entirely by the interests of general peace and security of peoples. The USSR demands that the Potsdam Resolutions be applied toward Japan; that Japan be demilitarized and democratized. The USSR protests against the freeing of the war criminals, and condemns the rise of Japanese militarism. It struggles for an independent Japan, peaceful and democratic, and specifically defends the signing of a new peace treaty with the participation of all the countries which fought against Japan, especially China.

d. Faithful to its policy of friendship with all countries, the USSR has concluded treaties of friendship with all the people's democratic countries and with Finland. They have the objective of preventing possible aggression against these countries from Germany and guarantee their independence. New relations have been established, equality of rights and mutual respect for the

interests of everyone. The USSR has always defended the national interests of the Korean people and prevented Korea from becoming a US colony. In 1950 the USSR signed a treaty of friendship and mutual aid with China. In January 1950 the USSR recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

e. The UN was created after World War II. Stalin said that the UN could keep peace only if there were unity among the great powers. The nations had great hope in this organization. They expected that it would insure a firm and lasting peace. This would have been achieved if its principles had been fulfilled.

According to the UN charter, the UN has two principal organs: the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The General Assembly consists of the representatives of all member nations.

The Security Council consists of 11 members, 5 of them permanent (the five great powers) and 6 temporary, the latter elected for a 2-year term by the General Assembly.

All resolutions are made by the Security Council. In order to become valid, they must have 7 votes in favor, including those of the 5 permanent members.

This is the essence of the principle of unanimity. Stalin said that the UN is doomed to fall apart. But the USSR is struggling to help the UN achieve its objectives; it is making specific proposals: prohibition of war propaganda, prohibition of weapons of mass extermination, ~~and~~ international control ^{of such weapons}, a peace pact among the 5 great powers, and reduction of armaments and armed forces by one third.

f. In carrying out its peace policy, the USSR takes as its starting point the principle that it is possible to maintain peace for a definite period, that it is possible to maintain peaceful coexistence among countries of different systems. The USSR does not fear peaceful competition, because the socialist system ^{has} proved to be far superior to the capitalist.

g. The Party's tasks, or so-called foreign policy, are as follows:

1. To persevere in the struggle against the preparation for and launching of a new war; to consolidate peace; to reinforce the ranks of the powerful democratic anti-war front; to tighten the bonds of friendship and solidarity with the partisans of peace throughout the world; to persevere in denouncing all preparations for a new war, all blows and plots by those who would stir up war;

2. To continue to carry out a policy of international cooperation and development of commercial relations with all countries;

3. To tighten and develop indissoluble friendly relations with the People's Republic of China, with the European People's Democracies -- Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, the GDR, the People's Republic of Korea, and the Democratic People's Republic of Mongolia;

4. To consolidate tirelessly the defensive power of the Soviet state and to increase our capacity to repel, to make a thunderous reply to any aggressor (Malenkov, Report to the XIXth Congress of the Soviet CP).

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25X1

Page Denied

Next 6 Page(s) In Document Denied

STALIN'S SPEECH -- PROGRAM, TASKS,
AND PROSPECTS FOR OUR PARTY

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Outline

- I. Introduction
- II. Principle of mutual support
- III. Work is easier now
- IV. Raising the banner of democratic liberties
- V. Raising the banner of independence and national sovereignty
- VI. Struggling for peace and against those who would stir up war
- VII. All prerequisites exist for confidence in success and victory
- VIII. Conclusion

I.

The teachings of the 19th Congress of the Soviet CP illuminate our path, make our objectives clearer and more precise, and open up new and broad prospects for our struggle against imperialism and war, for the national and social liberation of our people.

The principal teachings of the XIXth Congress, especially for our Party, which is struggling for power, are related in the historic speech of Comrade Stalin, which was the culminating point of the Congress.

Stalin's speech is a brilliant synthesis of Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world Communist movement and of the present situation in the countries where capitalism still prevails.

Stalin's speech traces the program, the tasks, and the prospects of the Communist parties which are not yet in power.

In this speech, Stalin brilliantly develops the theses of the proletariat and of the movement for the liberation of oppressed peoples.

Stalin's speech is a precious legacy for the international Communist movement and is destined to mark the beginning of a new stage in the life and activity of the Communist parties throughout the world.

II.

Stalin's speech teaches, in the first place, that the internationalist principle of mutual support between our Party and the Soviet CP should be taken as a principle of Party policy which is worthy of imitation. This mutual support, according to Stalin, has a certain peculiarity today: all support offered to the activity of the Soviet CP indicates at the same time support of our own people in the struggle for their liberation.

When we declare that the Brazilian people will never fight against the Soviet people, this indicates mutual support, but support primarily to the workers, peasants, and other democratic forces in Brazil which are struggling for peace, and in the second place support for the aspirations for peace of the USSR.

Stalin thus demonstrated the perfect and magnificent unity which exists as between the national and international objectives of the Communist parties throughout the world. This indicates that the supreme and sacred interests of our fatherland are not contradicted, but are on the contrary united with the interests of the peoples of the USSR. This indicates that, if we are to be consistent patriots, we must be faithful to the end to the international cause of the proletariat, to the fraternal union of the proletarians of all countries.

This cause has, in the peoples of the USSR, under the leadership of the Soviet CP, the first, historic shock brigade.

III.

Stalin's speech teaches us that the work of the Communist parties which are not yet in power is easier today. Stalin did not say that there are no problems facing our work, but he states that our work is now much easier.

Recognizing the difficulties with which the Communists are struggling in the countries where capitalism prevails, and stressing that we are laboring under the tyranny of Draconian bourgeois laws, Stalin shows us that the conditions under which the Russian Communists operated in the Tsarist period were much harder.

Why? Because in that period, the Russian Communists were struggling practically alone, as the party of Lenin and Stalin was then the only revolutionary party. Because in that period the Russian Communists had to struggle against a bourgeoisie which still maintained connections with the people, a bourgeoisie which still permitted itself to boast of liberalism and defended bourgeois-democratic liberties. A bourgeoisie which regarded itself as ruling the nation, which defended the rights and the independence of the nation, thus winning popularity.

How then could the Bolsheviks win victory?

In the first place, they remained firm, they were not intimidated by difficulties, they persistently overcame all sorts of difficulties, they unmasked and isolated the bourgeoisie, eliminating its influence over the masses, they unified the working class, they established an alliance of the workers and peasants, and finally because they skillfully, in a great revolutionary torrent, founded such powerful and such different movements as the general democratic movement for peace; the rural democratic movement for the confiscation of the landed estates; the movement for the national liberation of the oppressed peoples and for equality of rights of nationalities; and the socialist movement of the working class for the destruction of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the building of socialism.

Stalin stated that, if we remain firm and do not let ourselves be frightened by difficulties, we shall quickly win victory, with the great advantage that our work is many times easier than the work of the Bolsheviks in the Tsarist period.

Why is our work easier?

In the first place because today we have to deal with a ratio of forces in the world which is so favorable to the working class, that it led Comrade Molotov to declare that we are living in an age in which all roads lead to Communism.

A third of mankind has already shaken off the yoke of imperialism; in the countries where capitalism prevails, the forces of democracy and socialism are spreading and growing; the world bourgeoisie is becoming more and more demoralized and is losing its ties with the masses; the camp of democracy and socialism directed by the USSR is now invincible.

In the second place, because we have before us the experience in struggle and the successes of the Communist parties of the USSR, of China, and of the people's democracies. Specifically, this indicates that we can and must learn from the successes and the mistakes of the Communist parties which have already come to power, from the vast experience of the Soviet Communist Party.

If we assimilate and apply this experience, we shall find it easier and easier to solve our problems and to carry on our revolutionary work.

In the third place, because we have the support and the aid of the invincible party of Lenin and Stalin, as well as the aid and the support of the Communist parties of China and of the People's Democracies.

Stalin stated in his speech:

"It is understandable that our party cannot remain isolated from its sister parties, but must lend them support, in the struggle of their peoples both for liberty and for the preservation of peace. Of course, it is doing just this."

Just as Stalin says that the rise of new shock brigades makes it easier for the powerful ^{CPSU} (Communist Party of the USSR) to struggle and makes its activity more productive, we can say the same for the parties which have not yet come to power.

The party of Lenin and Stalin, converted into a powerful and invincible force with the rise of new shock brigades in the world revolutionary movement makes our struggle much easier and makes our work more productive.

In the fourth place, because we are struggling against weakened enemies, without ties with the people. The enemies we have to face in our struggle for national and social liberation cannot raise the banner of democratic liberties and of national independence.

With this contribution, Stalin revealed the weak point, the Achilles' heel of the modern bourgeoisie.

The principle of equal rights among all citizens was thrown overboard and replaced by full rights for the exploiting minority and lack of rights for the exploited majority of the citizens.

Our enemies cannot defend the rights and the independence of the Brazilian nation. Not the slightest vestige of national interests remains in their policy. They sold the rights for dollars, and national independence was thrown out the window. This is why Stalin said that our enemies are faced with one of the deepest sentiments of the people, the love of the citizen for his fatherland.

If these banners were thrown out by the landowners and big capitalists, it goes without saying that the national bourgeoisie, i.e. that part of the bourgeoisie which is not tied to imperialism, although participating in the struggle for national liberation, has no strength and is incapable of raising these banners.

That is why Stalin said that only the Communists can raise them and carry them forward.

It is understandable that all these circumstances must lighten the task of the Communist parties which have not yet come to power, and that consequently they must also lighten the work of our party.

IV.

Stalin's speech teaches us that we must raise the banner of bourgeois democratic liberties. Not only raise it, but carry it forward.

This banner is dearly loved by our people, who have never known a free system in all their history.

The consequence of this situation is the glorious tradition of struggle of our people for liberty, the high quality of the martyrs who fell in this struggle, their combativeness, and their traditional and endless resistance to all despotic governments.

According to Stalin, the indispensable condition for our Party to be able to attract the majority of our people to itself is to raise the banner of bourgeois-democratic liberties and carry it forward. At present no one but our party can raise this banner and carry it forward. Our program takes this into consideration.

V.

Stalin's speech teaches us that we must raise the banner of independence and national sovereignty and carry it forward. Patriotism is indissolubly linked to our struggle for independence and national sovereignty. Only the working class, united with the peasants and the petit bourgeoisie, is interested in the fate and the destiny of our fatherland and is struggling resolutely against the treasonable policy of the dominant classes and against imperialist oppression.

Love of Brazil, the ²feeling of national pride, the defense of our cultural heritage, hatred of the imperialist oppressor and traitors to the fatherland, are the most powerful force for our struggle for national and social liberation.

The essential prerequisite, according to Stalin, for our party to be the leading force of the nation, is to raise the banner of independence and national sovereignty. At present, in Brazil, no one but our Party can raise this banner and carry it forward.

VI.

Stalin's speech teaches us to struggle for peace and against the warmongers.

Stalin's ideas regarding the struggle against the danger of war and for the consolidation of peace are ideas of creative Marxism and will provide new

weapons for the struggle of all peoples. In his historic interview by Pravda in 1951, Stalin said that peace would be maintained if the people took the cause of peace in their own hands and carried it through to a conclusion.

At the XIXth Congress, Stalin stated, in conclusion:

"Long live Peace among the people!

"Down with warmongers!"

Thus Stalin reminds us that this is the primary task of Communists, of the working class, of all humanity, in the present stage of history. This is our principal task.

The six brilliant teachings of Stalin point out to us the principal directions in which the struggles for democratic demands are developing in the current stage of history.

All these demands, i.e. the strengthening of international solidarity, the maintenance and expansion of bourgeois-democratic liberties, the struggle for independence and national sovereignty, the struggle for the defense of peace and against war-mongers, constitute the essence of the demand for full democracy. The more extensive the democratic bloc and the unity of the extensive democratic masses, the more these movements will take on the national characteristics and the greater will be their importance. The working class supports every democratic movement and is always ready to collaborate with any ally, even a fickle and temporary one, in the interest of a broader democratic front and in the interest of a victorious solution of the present democratic demands of the people.

Likewise, the Communist parties can attract to the struggle for peace and national independence all the patriotic forces and elements, all enemies of war, without the necessity of knowing to what class they belong, or their political or philosophical position.

The bulwark and the basis of every democratic movement for democratic demands, including the peace movement, are formed by the masses of the workers, i.e., the working class, the working peasants, white-collar employees, and

intellectuals. Lenin and Stalin always undeceived all those who ingenuously believed that the struggle for democratic demands during the age of imperialism diverts the working class and its Party from its principal and fundamental objective, which is the elimination of capitalism and the victory of socialism.

The struggle for democratic demands, under conditions in which imperialism is frankly falling apart and decaying, does not divert the working class and its Party from carrying out its future socialist tasks. On the contrary, it brings them closer to these tasks in every way.

This is the dialectic of historical development which Stalin teaches us in his speech to the XIXth Congress.

VII.

Stalin's speech teaches us that the forces at our disposal in the countries where capitalism still prevails are inexhaustible and insuperable.

Stalin tries to instill us with the most absolute confidence in the forces at our disposal and tries to show us that these forces are more than sufficient to defeat imperialism and its national lackeys, as well as to build people's democracy.

It is important to stress this because certain tendencies to skepticism, to impotence before the difficulties and even doubts of the possibility of success and of victory, are arising in our Party.

What does this state of mind indicate?

It indicates the reflection of the ideological pressure of US imperialism and of the dominant classes on our ranks.

The hesitations and retreats before the campaign of intimidation, of reaction, and of imperialism, defeatism in the face of any difficulty, doubts, misunderstandings, in the struggle for power as well as in the possibilities of victory, are the most common forms of bourgeois ideological penetration into the ranks of our Party.

We shall not let ourselves be shaken by the ideological activity of the enemy, we shall systematically destroy all his ideological arguments, we shall not be frightened by difficulties, and we shall overcome them all, imbued with Stalinist certainty that there is every reason for our struggle for power to succeed and be victorious, we shall be firm and bold in carrying out our tasks -- these constitute the proletarian, class-conscious attitude which we must foster in our Party.

Stalin not only gives us a lesson in scientific optimism, but also tries to inspire us toward revolutionary struggle for power, since everything connected with that struggle is easier today, since we can count on a successful outcome.

Stalin emphasized the political and ideological value of Stalinist optimism in the struggle for the revolution at the XIVth Congress of the CPSU, when he said:

"What is lacking to insure a victory of the proletariat? Above all, faith in our own powers, the realization that the working class can live without the bourgeoisie, that ^{it} is capable not only of destroying the old but also of building socialism. All the activity of social democracy consists in infusing the workers with skepticism and lack of confidence in the possibility of winning victory over the bourgeoisie by force. The goal of all our work, of all our socialist development, consists in insuring that this work and this development convince the working class that they are able to live without the bourgeoisie and to build the new society with their own resources. When the workers catch the contagion of faith in their victory, you can be sure that this will be the beginning of the end of capitalism and the most certain indication of the victory of the world proletarian revolution."

VIII.

The historic importance of Stalin's speech does not consist solely in the fact that it gives a full description of the conditions under which the Communist parties must struggle, and the fact that it points out the roads

which lead these parties to victory. It consists in the fact that it inspires the Communists, the democrats and the partisans of peace with certainty in the rightness and in the invincibility of the great cause for which the Communist parties are fighting.

Stalin's speech is the most profoundly accurate and complete expression of the need for social development of the countries where capitalism prevails, in harmony with the need for the development of a socialist society in the countries of people's democracy, and for the building of Communism in the USSR.

Stalin's speech brilliantly describes the principles of the historic tasks of all the revolutionary forces which are now headed by the working class and its party.

In accordance with Comrade Prestes' instructions, we must examine the activities of our party from the point of view of criticism and self-criticism, we must point out and overcome our faults, errors, and weaknesses.

Our party has outlined its program in the light of the teachings of Stalin, a program which is a work of creative Marxism. In the light of Stalin's teachings, Comrade Prestes, in his April speech, points out to our party the reasons for our failures, though all the necessary conditions exist for success and victory.

Prestes' self-criticism in his speech to the meeting of the Central Committee, which approved the Draft of the Program of our party, was made in order that we may be able to overcome our errors and weaknesses and march onward toward successes and victories with enthusiasm and confidence.

Our program, which constitutes a historic point in the life of our party and of our people, imposes upon us entirely new tasks and completely new working methods, as regards both the work of party members and the work of the party in conjunction with the masses. Comrade Prestes, referring to the wise teachings of Stalin, said that they "made it possible for us to take great strides forward, and if we are to be capable of making them a guide for revolutionary action, we shall have to make our party equal to its tasks, and we

shall have to lead our people to victory in their sacred struggle for the liberation of Brazil from the colonial yoke of imperialism."

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QUESTIONS

1. How can we describe Stalin's speech?
2. Why is this speech a document of world historical significance?
3. What are the 6 teachings in Stalin's speech?
4. What is the principle of mutual support?
5. Why were the conditions under which the Bolsheviks acted, harder?
6. How were the Bolsheviks able to win victory under such conditions?
7. Why is our task easier today?
8. Can the bourgeoisie of a nation participate in the struggle for national liberation? Why?
9. What is the essential prerequisite for our party to be able to rally the majority of our people around itself?
10. What is the essential prerequisite for our party to be the leading force in the nation?
11. What is new in Stalin's ideas concerning the struggle for the defense of peace?
12. What is the position of the working class as regards the democratic movements?
13. Why does the struggle for democratic demands bring the working class nearer to winning its own socialist objectives?
14. What do the tendencies toward skepticism in the ranks of the party express?
15. What is the role of social democracy in the workers' movement?
16. Where is the front of invincibility of the program and the tasks outlined by Stalin?
17. Is the program of our party based on Stalin's teachings?

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Next 150 Page(s) In Document Denied

Summary:

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- I - Production and the means of production; labor means and labor objects.
 - II - Productive forces and production relations; distribution, exchange, and consumption.
 - III - Economic laws; nature, objective of economic laws and their .../[illegible]...
 - IV - Form of production; base and superstructure.
 - V - Method of Marxist political economy.
 - VI - Class nature of political economy; Marxist political economy, the only scientific one.
 - VII - Importance of the study of political economy for the Communist Party.
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I - Political economy studies the laws of social production and, hence, of the material goods in the different phases of the development of human society.

Material production is carried out by man in society. That is why labor is always social in nature.

Production always presupposes some factors:

- Labor, a rational activity of man by means of which he modifies and adapts the objects of nature for his own material benefit;
- Labor object, anything to which man's labor is applied; and
- Labor means, all things by which man exerts his influence over labor objects and transforms them.

Production instruments offer a characteristic outline of the development of society in its various stages. Progress is not measured by what is done, but by how it is done.

The means of production are the labor objects and the labor means. Means of production [?] are ineffectual without the labor force.

Labor force is man's capacity for work: it is the aggregate of physical and spiritual forces which enable him to produce material goods.

II - Productive forces include labor instruments used in work and the man who uses these instruments and has labor experience.

Production relations are the ties and relations which men establish among themselves in the process of production. In production relations enter: (1) the form of ownership of the means of production; (2) the conditions of the different social groups in production and their mutual relations, which depend on the first listed; and (3) the form of distribution of the products, which also depend on the first listed.

The economic activity studied by political economy comprises production, distribution, exchange, and consumption.

Social production has two aspects: the technical, and the social. Political economy does not study the technical aspect, but rather the social.

Economy studies the social relations of production, the economic relations among men. Political economy is the science of the development of social relations among men, that is to say, explains the laws of economic relations among men in the different phases of development.

III - Dialectical materialism teaches that all phenomena of nature and of society are governed by laws.

Political economy does not study all the laws of society, but rather the economic laws.

Economic laws express the essence of phenomena in the intrinsic process of their development. Economic laws arise and perform under determined economic conditions: man can discover and utilize these

laws to benefit society, but he cannot abolish or create them.

Economic laws cannot cease to perform or exist until the economic regime of society is modified.

It is wrong to interpret the objective sense of economic laws under the impression that they are spontaneous and their action inevitable. A law is spontaneous only when man cannot control it.

In capitalism the laws are spontaneous due to private ownership of the means of production.

In general, economic laws are transitory in nature; namely, they perform under determined conditions of social life, and remain passive under others.

Political economy examines the particular laws of each phase of production and establishes the general laws which govern all phases of social development.

IV - Political economy is a historical science because it examines the economic laws of the different social systems.

Political economy studies the form of production, which is the tie between productive forces and production relations.

It is wrong to believe that the development of production relations depends entirely upon productive forces; in it enters the ideological factor, and that of political institutions.

Production relations are the economic structure of society, the real infrastructure upon which the political and juridical superstructure rests. The superstructure cannot be directly related to the productive forces; it can only be studied by starting from the form of production. On the other hand, the superstructure influences the infrastructure, aiding in its development and consolidation.

V - The Marxist method of political economy is that of dialectical materialism. It is founded on the application of the fundamental theses of dialectical and historical materialism to the study of society.

Each type of regime constitutes a single unit. Through abstraction

we can find the main traits of each. Abstraction is the more profound form of examining reality.

VI - Bourgeois political economy was created during the struggle of the bourgeoisie against feudalism.

As the bourgeois power consolidated and the class struggle of the proletariat increased, the bourgeois economy only served to justify and consolidate capitalism.

The objective, scientific economic policy is that of the proletariat for it is not subject to capitalist society; it is a true economy, that of the more advanced class which is interested in the development of society.

VII - Marxist political economy is an integral part of Marxism.

Comrade Stalin developed political economy on the basis of the theses of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. They, who created scientific political economy, demonstrated how alien to economy are dogmatism and scholasticism.

The study of political economy permits the knowledge of the objective laws of the development of society, and the drawing of scientific forecasts.

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25X1

Page Denied

Next 21 Page(s) In Document Denied

The Communist Manifesto, the First Programmatic

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Document of the Communist MovementSummary

I. Introduction.

The Manifesto of the Communist Party, published in 1848, was the first programmatic document to define the role of the proletariat as the creator of the socialist society; it announced the appearance of scientific socialism and of the first Party Program, clearly formulating the immediate and the ultimate objectives of the proletariat.

II. The fundamental ideas of the first programmatic document of Marxism.

The fundamental ideas of this document were:

1. All contemporary socialism is based on the indisputable truth that the only authentically revolutionary class of capitalist society is the proletariat.
2. The history of society is a history of class struggles.
3. The Communist revolution would break with ideas of the past; new principles would be established with regard to morality, matrimony, the family, etc.
4. The establishment of a new way to resolve the national question.
5. The dictatorship of the proletariat.

III. The union of socialism with the labor movement.

One of the most important ideas of the Manifesto stated the need for a revolutionary Party of the working class, which would represent the union of socialism with the labor movement; this union is clearly embodied in the Communist Party.

IV. The question of power in the Manifesto of the Communist Party.

The Manifesto emphasized that the question of political power was the fundamental question of all revolutions, and it proclaimed that the objective of the Communist Party was to overthrow the bourgeois regime and to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat.

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V. Conclusions.

The success of the ideas of the Manifesto is proven by the fact that Communism has triumphed in the USSR, and also by the fact that one-sixth of the world's population has overthrown capitalism and is now building a socialist society.

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The Manifesto of the Communist Party

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Page Denied

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Communist Ethics

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Summary

I. Introduction.

Communist ethics exist, and it is necessary to forge the Communist character within the Party. And as the highest expression of Communist ethics is in the Party, it is the duty of the Party schools to contribute toward the formation of the Communist character of the militants.

II. What ethics are.

Ethics is a social phenomena, an assemblage of standards and principles which regulate the conduct of men in relation to one another, in relation to society, in relation to their classes and parties, as well as to the classes and parties of their enemies. Law has written standards and uses coercion to force compliance with the law, whereas the standards of ethics are unwritten and are fulfilled naturally.

III. The origin of ethics and its class nature.

Ethics is a reflection of the conditions of the material life of society. There cannot be a definitive ethical system, which is accepted as good ^{for} all times and ^{for} all men. In a society where class antagonism predominates, the ethics must inevitably be a class ethics. The dominant ethics is the ethics of the dominant class. This class nature of ethics was discovered by the founders of Marxism.

IV. The bourgeoisie ethics.

The ethics that predominates in the bourgeoisie society is determined by the capitalist production relations, characterized by the exploitation of man by man. The principal motive force that determines the actions of the bourgeoisie is profit, and everything revolves around this. The principles of bourgeoisie ethics are principles of selfishness and individualism.

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V. The Communist ethics.

Communist ethics corresponds to the great objectives of our Party, to build a society that is free from exploitation. Communist ethics is a collection of standards and rules for determining the conduct of Communists; it means the use of all force and energy in the cause of the struggle for a Communist society. Questions of ethics contained in the Party Statutes include: protecting Party unity, being honest and sincere with the Party, guarding Party secrets, and demonstrating solidarity with persecuted comrades.

VI. The principles of Communist ethics.

■ The principles of Communist ethics correspond entirely to the interests of the people. Communist ethics is a reflection of the needs of the working class. Contrary to the degrading bourgeois ethics, Communist ethics elevates, looks toward the future, and contains the elements for a long existence.

VII. The moral qualities of the Communists.

The moral qualities of the Communists are revealed in the spirit of an unrestricted dedication to the cause of Communism. The following are the moral qualities which a Communist must possess: have unrestricted dedication to the Party; develop love for our people; respect the rights of all peoples and love all peoples; develop fearlessness and courage; remain firm before the class enemy; have a spirit of abnegation; have respect for women; cultivate modesty and follow *the* slogan "One for all and all for one"; have a spirit of discipline; have a spirit of comradeship, but without concealing the weaknesses of anyone; and be optimistic, because the working class is destined to be victorious.

VIII. The unconditional subordination of the interests of members to the interests of the Party.

A Party member, in addition to establishing a Communist vision of world life, must also determine the correct relationship between his personal interests and those of the Party. That relationship can be formulated as follows:

1. Personal interests must be subordinated to the interests of the Party.

Individual interests are subordinated to class interests.

2. Partial interests must be subordinated to total interests.

3. Temporary interests must be subordinated to permanent interests.

4. The interests of the nation must be subordinated to the interests of all humanity.

IX. Conclusion.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that the Party has the highest moral qualities and virtues, and serves as a model and example for all of us.

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"If you are captured, comrade....."

Questions

1. What is Communist ethics, according to the Statutes of our Party?
2. What are the main ^{moral} ~~ethical~~ duties of Party members?
3. What is the basis for the Marxist-Leninist statement that ethics are not eternal?
4. What are the forms of ethics that exist in bourgeois society and why?
5. When is ethics a class ethics and when can it be recognized by all?
6. Who discovered the nature of class ethics?
7. What is the principle by which bourgeois ethics is determined?
8. What is the principle by which Communist ethics is determined?
9. What is the basis for the Marxist-Leninist statement that Communist ethics is a new type of ethics?
10. In accordance with Marxism-Leninism, how are the relationships formulated between the interests of Party members and the interests of the Party?

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The History of the CPSU -- Marxism-Leninism in ActionSummary

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I. Introduction.

The CPSU emerged and developed on the firm foundation of creative Marxism; throughout all stages of its development, it remained faithful to the principles of Marxism; and all its actions were guided by Marxism. Its strength is based on Marxism, and therefore it is said that the history of the CPSU represents Marxism-Leninism in action. It represents the victory of the ^{theory} ~~idea~~ of Marxism, its development, and its practical confirmation. The History of the CPSU represents a struggle against dogmatism and against revisionism at the same time.

II. Lenin--founder and leader of the Bolshevik Party.

Marx and Engels demonstrated that the inevitable defeat of capitalism could be achieved only by the proletariat, under the direction of a Party of the working class. With regard to Lenin, his great merit consists in having advanced the thesis of the Party of the vanguard, and having established its organizational, tactical, theoretical, and political foundations. Lenin founded the Party which fought against dogmatism and applied Marxism to the new conditions.

III. The works of Lenin, model of creative Marxism.

In the struggle for the creation of a truly revolutionary Marxist Party, Lenin elaborated the ~~ideological~~ ideological, organizational, tactical, and theoretical foundations of the Party. The elaboration of these fundamentals was made in the struggle against the enemies of Marxism and for the formation of the Party. All ^{of} these fundamentals are found in the various works of Lenin, works that do not consist of academic manuals; instead, they are guides for practical activity, studies on real-life questions. Lenin had the task of establishing the ideological foundations of the Party, and of destroying the opportunistic philosophy and the reactionary policies of the opponents of the Party. Lenin established the Marxist thesis that the Communist Party represents the union and the fusion of the labor movement with scientific socialism. After the revolution in the USSR, Lenin elaborated the plan for the building of socialism. This plan had three principal

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aspects, as follows:

- 1) the industrialization of the country, particularly with regard to heavy industry.
- 2) the collectivization of agriculture.
- 3) the cultural revolution, which would consist in the ^{formation} of socialist intellectuals, technicians, administrators, etc.

IV. The Congresses of the ^{CPSU} —landmarks in the life of the Party.

The Congresses of the ^{CPSU} mark stages in the lives of the Party, of the Soviet people, and of the History of humanity. They are symbols of the creative activity of the Party. Influenced by contact with the masses and by an up-to-date analysis of the objective reality, the Party puts the Marxist-Leninist theory into practice and enriches it with new theses. These congresses are an index of the collective wisdom of the Party. The Congresses of the ^{CPSU} show how the Party has implemented the Leninist doctrines concerning the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, and they reflect the present struggle in the transition toward socialism.

V. The great socialist revolution of October—victory of Marxism-Leninism.

The great socialist revolution of October gave practical proof of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theses concerning the revolution. It confirmed the theory of Lenin that conditions had matured throughout the world for humanity to pass to a new and higher regime. The revolution of October marks the beginning of a new era in the History of humanity, the era of the victory of socialism, the era of the construction of Communism. The October Revolution marked the ^{transformation} of the CPSU into a shock brigade of the international revolutionary movement, and it encouraged the colonial peoples in their struggles for freedom.

VI. The construction of socialism and the transition to Communism.

The victory of socialism in the USSR, effected in accordance with the Leninist plan, represented a consolidation of the October Revolution and marked a victory over opportunistic and revisionist theories. At present, the struggle for

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the building of Communist is being carried on in the creative struggle of Marxism, in the creative activity of the CPSU. As Soviet power advances, Marxism advances. This is shown in the experiences of the People's Democracies, where the people are building socialism, and in the experiences of the people who are fighting for their liberation.

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Communist Ethics

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Summary

I. What is ethics?

Ethics is one of the forms of social conscience. Ethics signifies rules and standards of conduct among men. Marxism affirms that ethics reflects the social conditions among^{men}, and that it is determined by the conditions of the material life in society. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine affirms that there cannot be a definitive ethical system that is generally accepted as good for all times and for all men. The development and replacement of ethical systems depend on the changes made in the production relations among men.

II. In a society of classes, ethics always has a class nature.

Each class has its own ethics, and in a society of classes, the dominant ethics is the ethics of the dominant class. Communist ethics is the ethic of the most advanced class in the history of human society. It reflects the aspirations and the interests of the masses of workers, interests and aspirations that coincide with the progressive march in the development of humanity. Therefore, Communist ethics, free of class conflicts, will become the ethics of all humanity.

III. Bourgeoisie ethics.

The ethics that dominates in the bourgeois society is determined by the capitalist production relations, and it is characterized by the exploitation of man by man. Individualism and egoism are the most characteristic aspects of bourgeois ethics. As bourgeois society develops, the hypocrisy and falsity of its ethics are revealed more and more. The ethics of the imperialist bourgeoisie is characterized by its tendency to uphold the old and the decrepit, and to oppose the new and the progressive.

IV. ~~Communist ethics is the highest criterion of Communist ethics.~~ Communist ethics.

The building of Communism is the highest criterion of Communist ethics. For a Communist, being a moral man means using all his strength and energy in the cause of the fight for the Communist society. Therefore, Communist ethics represents a powerful weapon in the struggle for the overthrow of the exploiting classes and

CONFIDENTIAL

for the building of a Communist Society. Communist ethics stems from such proletarian moral qualities as: honesty, sincerity, dedication, courage, energy, solidarity, etc. Thus, Communist ethics originated among the proletarians of the capitalist society; and Communist ethics will develop as the proletariat strengthens and intensifies its fight against its enemies. In the development of the moral qualities of the proletariat, an outstanding role falls to the Communist Party, which carries out the task of educating the masses, and guarding against the poisonous influences of the bourgeois ethics. Party members must lead lives that serve as examples for the people. Communist ethics will only be completely formed after the proletarian revolution, when the Communist ethics will be the dominant ethics.

V. Basic traits and fundamental peculiarities of Communist ethics.

The basic traits and fundamental peculiarities of Communist ethics are:

- 1) Communist ethics is indissolubly connected with the Communist concept of the world.
- 2) Communist ethics is an expression of the unity between the personal interests and the social interests of men.
- 3) The most important peculiarity of Communist ethics is represented by its elevated ideological nature.
- 4) Another characteristic of Communist ethics is its active attitude with regard to reality.
- 5) Communist ethics is characterized by its profound optimism.

VI. The principal tasks of Communist education.

In developing the moral qualities of its members, the Party has the following main educational tasks:

- 1) Education in the spirit of love of the people.
- 2) Education with regard to the workers of all nationalities, and with regard to the rights and liberties of the people of all nations.
- 3) Education with regard to implacable hatred for the enemies of the people, for the enemies of Peace and Democracy.

- 4) Education in fidelity to Bolshevik principles.
- 5) Education in courage and fearlessness in the fight for Communism.
- 6) Education in the ~~the~~ spirit of discipline and organization.
- 7) Education in the spirit of ^{socialist} humanism, optimism, enthusiasm, and joy

in living.

8) Education in the spirit of collectivism, of friendship, and of comradeship. Our motto is "One for all, and all for one."

- 9) Education in the spirit of modesty, sincerity, and honesty.

VII. Educational methods of Communist ethics.

The principal methods of training Party members in accordance with Communist ethics are:

- 1) Communist ethics is forged in actively working and fighting for the victory of the Party and of the cause of Communism.
- 2) The mastery of the Marxist-Leninist theory constitutes the decisive instrument for the education of Party members in the spirit of Communist ethics.
- 3) Criticism and self-criticism represent one of the most important methods of forming high moral qualities among the Communists.

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25X1

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Next 24 Page(s) In Document Denied

Politics, From the Marxist-Leninist Viewpoint

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Summary

I. Introduction.

Our Party has a political concept that is a proletarian, class concept, based on the principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It is a concept that is radically different from the political concepts of other social classes. Party politics cannot be planned in an arbitrary manner; it is determined exclusively by the ultimate interests of the proletariat. The proletariat must obtain its political and social liberation, and it must seize power.

II. What politics is.

In its general sense, politics is, according to Lenin, the struggle between the dominant classes and the oppressed classes. Proletarian politics is the position of the proletariat with regard to the classes engaged in the struggle; it is the struggle of the proletariat for its social emancipation, for the overthrow of the dominant classes, and for the attainment of state power. The question of power is the central question of politics. The politics of the Party expresses the aspiration of the Brazilian people. It has the objective of making revolutionary changes in Brazil, liberating the proletariat and all the exploited and oppressed groups, and establishing the economic and social conditions for the future construction of a socialist society in Brazil. The politics of the Party is based on the thesis of historical materialism that it is the masses who make history. And it is the proletariat who must carry out the revolution, under the direction of the Communist Party.

III. The principles on which Party politics is based.

The Party bases its politics on Marxist-Leninist principles, which represent the method for studying the Brazilian reality, as follows:

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1) The social and political development, the social and political phenomena, are not found in mutual isolation from one another; instead, they are interrelated and affected by fixed historical conditions.

2) Social and political phenomena are in constant movement, development, and change.

3) The social and political changes from one situation to another are always made in a violent, revolutionary manner. Our Party opposes those who deny the need for a revolution to free our people and the working class. The revolution is a natural phenomenon; it is the violent replacement of one ruling class by another; it is as inevitable as the class struggle.

4) Social and political development always proceeds through conflicts.

The interpretation of reality, in order to be scientific, must be based on the following three principles of Marxism:

1) The social life and the political situation are not developed in a casual manner, but in accordance with the objective laws that exist independently of the will of men.

2) The objective laws of social development can be fully known, controlled, and placed at the service of society.

3) Social development depends on the material conditions of life in society, on the laws of its mode of production. This means that the spiritual life is a ~~reflection~~ reflection of the material life of society.

Based on the Marxist analysis of class forces and the Party Program, we can plan the strategy and tactics of the Party. Strategy prepares a suitable plan of the distribution of forces and determines the course to follow. Tactics consists in indicating the concrete ways for winning the masses over to the side of the proletariat and leading them to positions in the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, tactics indicates the forms of struggle, the forms of organization, and the orders to be given. The strategy of the Program is as follows:

Objective -- liquidate landed estates and imperialism; establish a democratic-popular regime.

Main force -- the proletariat.

CONFIDENTIAL

Immediate reserves -- the peasants.

Direct reserves -- a) the peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie.

b) the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

c) the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries.

d) the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies.

e) the USSR and the People's Democracies.

Indirect reserves -- a) conflicts in the camp of the enemy.

b) conflicts among the imperialists.

Direction of the main blow -- against the conciliating bourgeoisie.

Plan of distribution of forces -- democratic front of national liberation.

Party politics must be planned in accordance with the objective situations and proven in practice.

IV. The Party policy is a scientific policy.

All that we have seen up to now demonstrates that the policy of the Party is truly scientific, while the policies of the parties of the dominant class are anti-scientific.

V. The Party policy is a revolutionary policy.

The policy of the Party is, by its essence and social role, a revolutionary policy. It is revolutionary because it interprets the reality and seeks to make a revolutionary change in the economic and social situation existing in Brazil.

VI. The Party policy is an internationalist policy.

The Party policy must be internationalist; it must do all it can to develop the Brazilian revolution, but it must also support and stimulate the revolution in all the countries.

VII. Conclusions.

The basic elements of Party politics are: the Marxist analysis of the disposition of class forces, the Party program, strategy, and tactics.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Questions

1. Why is the Party policy not arbitrary?
2. What is politics?
3. What is the basis for our concept concerning politics?

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- 4 -

25X1

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Next 7 Page(s) In Document Denied

Politics, From the Marxist-Leninist Viewpoint

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Summary

I. Introduction.

Our Party has a political concept that is a proletarian, class concept, based on the principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It is a [REDACTED] concept that is radically different from the political concepts of other social classes. The Party politics is determined exclusively by the ultimate interests of the proletarian class. The proletariat must obtain its political and social liberation, must end the exploitation of man by man, and must seize power.

II. What politics is.

In its general sense, politics is, according to Lenin, the relationship between classes, the struggle of the classes for control of society and for state power. Proletarian politics concerns the position of the proletariat in the [REDACTED] class struggle. It is the struggle of the proletariat for its social emancipation, for the overthrow of the power of the oppressing classes, and for its attainment of political power. The question of power is the central question of politics. The politics of the Party expresses the needs and aspirations of the Brazilian people. It has the objective of making revolutionary changes in Brazil, liberating the proletariat and all the exploited and oppressed groups, and establishing the economic and social conditions for the future construction of a socialist society in Brazil.

III. The principles on which Party politics is based.

The politics of the Party is conditioned by the objective laws of social development and by the practical conclusions derived from these laws, which are the expression of the most general and substantial aspects of the material reality. The workers are the ones who make history; they produce all the wealth of society, they create the social life, and they impel the development of social relations.

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This factor, together with the class struggle, serves to determine the politics of the Party. The politics of the Party, its strategy and tactics, must represent and express the interests of the proletariat. With ~~the~~ ^{a Marxist} analysis of the class forces and the points of the Party Program, we can plan our strategy and tactics. The preparation of the Party line must include the following four points: 1) a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the economic conditions of society, which reveals the correlation of existing class forces; 2) the Party Program; 3) strategy; 4) tactics. And the politics of the Party must be proven in actual practice in the revolutionary struggle.

IV. The Party policy is a scientific policy.

An examination of all these questions shows us that the Party policy must be scientific; this fact gives our Party an immeasurable advantage over other parties. The Party policy is scientific because it is based on ~~an~~ an understanding of the laws of social development and the material needs of society.

V. The Party policy is a revolutionary policy.

The revolutionary nature of the Party policy stems from the fact that it reveals the internal conflicts and indicates the revolutionary way to abolish all forms of oppression and ~~the~~ exploitation.

VI. The Party policy is an internationalist policy.

The Party policy must be internationalist; it must do all it can to develop the Brazilian revolution, but it must also support and stimulate the revolution in all the countries.

VII. Conclusions.

The Marxist oriented politics of the Party represents scientific, patriotic, revolutionary, and internationalist policies. All of these considerations are necessary in order to understand the historic mission of the Party and the tasks that it must face as the organized vanguard of the proletariat.

CONFIDENTIAL

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25X1

Page Denied

Next 6 Page(s) In Document Denied

What the History of the CPSU Teaches Us

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Summary

I. Introduction.

The History of the CPSU, just as Marxist theory in general, must be viewed as a guide for action.

II. The Party, an indispensable condition for the triumph of the revolution.

The Party is indispensable for the attainment of power by the proletariat.

III. The strength of the Party rests in the Marxist-Leninist theory.

Lenin said: "Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary Party; only a Party armed with a theory of the vanguard can direct a revolution of the vanguard." And this Party can only be the Communist Party, which is the only Party that has a revolutionary theory: Marxism. The History of the CPSU is a history of the struggle for the assimilation and application of Marxism-Leninism. Prestes has stated that a disregard for theory has been an obstacle in the formation of new and capable cadres.

IV. The triumph of the proletarian revolution is impossible without the defeat of the petty bourgeois parties within the labor movement.

The History of the CPSU teaches us that the triumph of the proletarian revolution is impossible without the crushing of the petty bourgeois parties that operate within the working class. This teaching has particular significance for us, because the success of the struggle to give a revolutionary orientation to the Brazilian movement is related to the struggle to extirpate the petty bourgeois ideology from the Party. The petty bourgeois has had a certain amount of influence because of the way our Party was formed. In fact, the history of our Party is a history of struggle against the influence of the petty bourgeois ideology.

V. The Party remains intransigent toward opportunism and defeatism.

The History of the CPSU has been an intransigent struggle against all the opportunists and defeatists. The lessons learned therefrom are important to us because they arm us with a revolutionary vigilance against opportunists and defeatists.

VI. The Party remains intransigent with regard to its errors.

The Party believes that it is necessary to use criticism and self-criticism in order to correct its errors. The History of the CPSU shows us that the Party cannot fulfill its role as leader of the working class unless it stimulates criticism and self-criticism as a means of proving the correctness of its policies.

VII. An essential characteristic of the Party is its close ties with the masses.

Lenin stated that the Party would be invincible if it could establish close ties with the masses. This teaching is important for it is essential for us to unite with the masses, to give form to the spontaneous mass movements, to learn the ways of organizing the masses, and to lead the various revolutionary currents toward concrete action.

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25X1

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Next 60 Page(s) In Document Denied

The Struggle of Marx and Engels for the Victory of
Scientific Socialism in the Labor Movement

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Summary

I. Introduction.

The doctrine of Marxism demonstrates the inevitability of the replacement of the existing bourgeois regime by a proletarian regime. Marx and Engels struggled for scientific socialism, tenaciously combating all ideas that were hostile to Marxism.

II. The struggle against philosophic idealism.

In the struggle against philosophic idealism, Marx and Engels fought against the ideas of Hegel and Feurbach. Marx and Engels showed that production relations played a leading role in the development of society. In their struggle against philosophic idealism, Marx and Engels reached the conclusion that a social revolution was necessary in order to overthrow the exploiting, dominant classes.

III. The struggle in the field of economic doctrines.

The struggle in the field of economic doctrines was mainly the struggle of Marx and Engels against the reformist theories of Proudhon, theories that opposed any class struggle or social revolution. The theories of Proudhon were completely false and reactionary, and they presented an imaginary solution to the economic contradictions of capitalism.

IV. The struggle against the hostile doctrines in the labor movement.

In the struggle against hostile doctrines in the labor movement, Marx and Engels stated that the proletariat could not act as a class without organizing its own political party in opposition to the existing parties of other classes. They believed that a political party of the proletariat was essential for the victory of the revolution.

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V. The struggle for the victory of the fundamental theses of Marxism.

The struggle for the victory of the fundamental theses of Marxism can be studied in the work of Engels entitled Anti-Duering. This work of Engels played a very important role in the development of the international Communist movement. It is a model of the application of dialectical materialism to history, to the natural sciences, to political economy, and to the theory of the labor movement. This book of Engels represents an enormous contribution to the struggle for the victory of scientific socialism, for it effectively refuted doctrines that were hostile to the proletariat, especially the reformist doctrines that did not recognize the need for a social revolution.

VI. Conclusions

By the beginning of this century, the triumph of Marxism had been accomplished, in its fundamental aspects, and scientific socialism had been firmly established in the labor movement.

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CONFIDENTIAL

25X1

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The Economic Regime of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

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Summary

I. Economic premises of the people's revolution in Vietnam.

The economy of Vietnam was of a semi-feudal and colonial nature before the democratic-popular revolution. The class structure consisted of: great landowners, peasants, bourgeoisie, and the proletariat. The proletariat, although not very numerous, was the most advanced class and therefore assumed direction of the movement for national liberation and for the elimination of the feudal vestiges.

II. The nature of the democratic-popular revolution in Vietnam.

Because its motive force is the people, directed by the working class, the revolution in Vietnam is a democratic-popular revolution of national liberation. The revolution, during its first stage, has the objective of expanding the anti-imperialist United Front. The democratic-popular regime, consisting mainly of workers and peasants, functions as a dictatorship of the proletariat in leading the country toward socialism.

III. The economic policy of the Republic in 1945-46.

The economic policy of the government in 1945-46 had the objective of initiating profound economic and social transformations in the nation. Among these projected changes, emphasis was placed on the needed agrarian reforms. With regard to industry, the policy of the government was to assist and to strengthen national industries, as well as to nationalize certain sectors of the economy.

IV. The economy of Vietnam during the war of resistance-- 1947-53.

The economy of Vietnam during the war of resistance was, fundamentally, a continuation of its policy established in 1945. The correlation of existing social forces did not permit any radical agrarian reforms until 1953. During the war, the government succeeded in its main objective of increasing industrial and agricultural production. In the course of the war, as the correlation of forces changed in favor of the Republic, the necessary conditions were created for effecting radical democratic transformations in the structure of the country.

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CONFIDENTIAL

V. The democratic-popular agrarian reform -- 1953-54.

The agrarian reform in Vietnam is similar to the agrarian reforms carried out in other people's democracies whose economies had previously been semi-feudal and semi-colonial. The agrarian reforms were initiated during the war against the imperialists; thus, the anti-imperialist war became an anti-feudal war also. The transfer of the properties from the great landowners to the peasants brought about political benefits and an increase in agricultural production.

VI. Raising the material and cultural standard of living of the people.

Since its establishment in 1945, the democratic-popular government has been instituting the necessary measures to improve the material and cultural welfare of the people of Vietnam. These measures included new laws to improve *the* working conditions and the social welfare of the people. Great strides were made toward wiping out illiteracy and raising the cultural level of the people. The successful democratic-popular revolution in Vietnam has furnished valuable lessons for other colonial countries to follow in their struggles for national liberation.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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The Economic Regime of the People's Republic of China

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Summary

I. The economic premises of the Chinese people's revolution.

The economy of China, before the victory of the revolution, was of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature. The minority of great landowners and bourgeoisie helped maintain imperialism in the country by oppressing the peasant and proletarian masses. This oppression intensified the class struggle and made the revolution inevitable.

II. The nature of the Chinese revolution.

The Chinese revolution began as an agrarian, anti-feudal revolution, and later also assumed an anti-imperialist nature. The basic motivating forces of the revolution were the peasants and the working class. The urban petty bourgeoisie also played an important role. The Chinese revolution is directed by the Communist Party and it has the support of the proletariat and of all progressive forces of the world. Starting with democratic-bourgeoisie tasks, the revolution was transformed into a socialist revolution with the establishment of a dictatorship of the workers under the leadership of the proletariat. This revolution has great significance, for it marks the passage from a semi-feudal regime to a socialist state, without going through the capitalist stage.

III. The revolutionary transformations in the countryside; the socialist nationalization.

Among the radical social and economic changes that were effected in China, the agrarian reforms were of enormous importance. The agrarian revolution liquidated the feudal class and put an end to feudal property and semi-feudal relations; the confiscated properties were distributed fairly among all the peasants. While the agrarian reforms were being carried out, the State assumed control of banks and industries that had belonged to members of the Kuomintang and to foreign capitalists. The nationalization process did not affect the property of the national bourgeoisie, but it did assure the State of a socialist base for the economy of the new China.

CONFIDENTIAL

IV. Forms of ownership of the means of production and the class structure of society in the People's Republic of China.

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The socialist ownership—by all the people—replaced the private ownership ~~by~~ the bourgeoisie and imperialists; the small peasant ownership replaced the feudal ownership. The forms of ownership of the means of production that now exist in China are: State ownership, cooperative ownership, small property ownership by individual workers, and capitalist ownership. State ownership comprises the base of the socialist production relations; it is the guiding force for the entire national economy, and it is the foundation for the socialist transformations.

V. The ways toward the socialist industrialization of China.

The First Five Year Plan, which was initiated in 1953, has the basic objective of developing commerce, transport facilities, etc., heavy industry, thereby preparing the ways toward the industrialization of the country. A characteristic of the industrial development of China is the rapid growth in State enterprises; in this respect, the Soviet Government is aiding China in the construction of various industries.

VI. The ~~gradual~~ gradual socialist transformation of agriculture.

At present, Chinese agriculture is based on small peasant landholdings, with government aid to the peasants for the rapid development of ~~agricultural~~ agricultural production. However, in 1953, the Communist Party of China took steps to increase agricultural production by initiating socialist reforms in the countryside. Now there are various forms of cooperatives, which are distinguished by the degree of socialization of the means of production. The State enterprises, which play a leading role in the socialization of agriculture, will grow in importance as the government is able to give them more effective assistance.

VII. Raising the material and cultural levels of the standard of living of the Chinese people.

In 1951, social security was established, and the cultural level of the Chinese people was raised. The government is now striving to lower the rate of

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

illiteracy, which was 90% of the population before the revolution. The improvement in the standard of living is proven by the increased purchasing power of the people. The rights of women are exemplified by the respected precept of "equal work, equal pay."

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CONFIDENTIAL

25X1

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The Economic Regime of the USSR

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Summary

I. The socialist system of national economy and socialist property.

The socialist system of the national economy, the abolition of the capitalist system, and the socialization of the means of production constitute the economic base of the socialist society. Under socialism, the labor force and the means of production are united on a new base. In the socialist regime, the power of the State is located in the hands of the workers of the cities and fields, who work ^{toward} the building of Communism. The socialist property, which belongs to the State, consists of two forms: the state property of all the people, and the cooperative property.

II. The nature of the socialist production relations.

Socialist production relations are characterized by:

1. absolute socialist control over the means of production;
2. the freedom of the workers with regard to the means of production, and the fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance among the workers;
3. the distribution of products in accordance with the interests of society.

Under socialism, there is a complete correspondence between the production relations and the nature of the productive forces.

III. The essential features of the fundamental economic law of socialism.

A fundamental feature of the economic law of socialism is the guarantee of the maximum satisfaction of the ever increasing material and cultural necessities of society, through the steady expansion and improvement of the socialist production, based on advanced technology. The objective of socialist production is defined by the socialist ownership of the means of production; the objective of socialist production is the satisfying of the needs of society. And these needs stimulate a steady increase in production. To attain a steady increase in production, emphasis is placed on increasing the means of production and on improving technology. The development of production brings an increase in consumer goods, and therefore becomes a vital cause of the workers.

CONFIDENTIAL

IV. The law of the planned development (proportional) of the national economy, the socialist planning.

The mode of socialist production is characterized by the proportional planned development of the national economy, which becomes a possibility and a necessity under socialism. Socialism is inconceivable without the planned coordination of production in all its aspects. Hence, in the socialist society, there operates the objective economic law of the harmonious and proportional development of the socialist economy. Under socialism, the distribution of the means of production and of the labor force among the different branches of production is made on the basis of the law of harmonious and proportional development. The nature of the proportions is determined by the demands of the fundamental economic law, which thus serves to regulate production. In the socialist economy, there must be:

- 1) a just correlation between the production of capital and consumer goods.
- 2) a just proportion between industry and agriculture.
- 3) just proportions among the isolated branches of industry and agriculture.
- 4) a just proportion between the monetary income of the population and the amount of consumer goods produced.
- 5) a rational distribution of the socialist production among the various regions of the country.
- 6) a just proportion between accumulation and consumption.

V. The law of distribution in accordance with the work done.

The mode of socialist production determines the corresponding form of distribution. Under socialism, distribution is made in accordance with the work done, for production is not yet sufficient to satisfy all the demands of society. The law of distribution in accordance with the work done is an objective necessity of socialism and requires the following:

- 1) A distribution of the products in accordance with the quantity and quality of the work ^{done by} each person.

CONFIDENTIAL

2) A just distribution of equal amounts for equal work, independent of age, sex, or nationality.

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"	"	"Lochthin--	The law of harmonious and proportional development	--	"	53
			The planned development of socialist production	--	"	69
			Concerning productivity	--	"	61

CONFIDENTIAL

25X1

Page Denied

Next 4 Page(s) In Document Denied

Period of Transition From Capitalism to Socialism

25X1

Summary

I. The proletarian revolution and the necessity of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The replacement of the capitalist mode of production by the socialist mode of production is inevitable because the law of obligatory correspondence between production relations and the nature of the productive forces ~~demands~~ demands a change from the old production relations to the new production relations. The passage from capitalism to socialism can only be effected through the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletariat is the only class capable of unifying all the classes around it for the construction of socialism. In the passage from capitalism to socialism, a period of transition is necessary to enable the proletariat to initiate changes in the production relations. The period of transition begins with the implantation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and ends with the construction of socialism.

II. The dictatorship of the proletariat as an instrument for constructing the socialist economy.

The construction of socialism is impossible without the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is based on a worker-peasant alliance, under the direction of the working class, opposing all the exploiting classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat, ^{representing} ~~the~~ the continuation of the class struggle under new conditions, has the following aspects:

- 1) It signifies the utilization of the State power for the repression of the exploiters and oppressors;
- 2) It means the winning over of the masses ^{to} ~~the~~ the cause of socialism;
- 3) It signifies the building of the new socialist society.

The building of a socialist society requires a dictatorship of the proletariat under the direction of the Communist Party.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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III. The socialist nationalization.

Socialist nationalization is the revolutionary confiscation by the proletarian State of the property of the exploiting classes, and its transformation into the property of all the people. Of great importance for the building of socialism is the nationalization of the large industries that play a leading role in the national economy; also important in this regard, is the nationalization of agriculture, banks, transportation, and foreign commerce. Socialist nationalization is important because: it deprives the bourgeoisie of the means of production, thereby destroying their dominance; and it creates the economic base for the building of socialism, transferring key posts in the economy to the control of the workers.

IV. Economic and class formations during the period of transition; the alliance of the working class and the peasants.

As a result of the socialist nationalization, a new economic formation emerges among those already existing: the socialist economic formation. There are three fundamental economic formations during the period of transition: the patriarch-peasant economic formation; the private capitalist economic formation; and the socialist economic formation. The victory of the proletariat can only be assured by having a worker-peasant alliance, for the workers and the peasants represent the two fundamental classes during the period of transition. During this transitional period, there is a sharpening of the class conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, as the ~~latter~~ latter sees itself losing ground.

V. The emergence of the economic laws of socialism.

During the period of transition, the economic laws of socialism emerge and gradually replace the economic laws of capitalism. The law of the value of labor is replaced by the law of distribution in accordance with the work. Socialist production is regulated by the law of ~~the~~ the unified and planned development of the economy. Under socialism, production is no longer controlled by market prices, but rather by the needs of society.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

VI. The fundamentals of the economic policy during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The construction of socialism is impossible without a correct consideration of the objective economic situation and of the economic laws of that situation. During the period of transition, the bond between the state industry and the peasant economy, effected by means of commerce, is a necessary condition; there must be close ties between city and country in order to establish the essential worker-peasant alliance.

VII. The NEP (New Economic Policy)

In essence, the NEP/^{was} an economic alliance between the working class and the peasants to obtain the help of the peasant masses in the task of building socialism in the USSR. However, we should understand that the NEP policies may serve as a base in the building of socialism in any country. The building of socialism in the People's Democracies is ~~facilitated~~ facilitated, not only because the conditions there are advantageous, but also because they receive practical and theoretical help from the Soviet Union.

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- - - - -

- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL

25X1

Page Denied

Next 5 Page(s) In Document Denied

The General Crisis of Capitalism

25X1

Summary

I. The essence of the general crisis of capitalism.

The general crisis of the capitalist system is characterized by wars and by revolution. There is a decomposition of capitalism and a growth of socialism. The general characteristics of this crisis are:

1) The division of the world into two systems, and the struggle between these systems.

2) The crisis in the colonial system of imperialism.

3) The intensification of the problem of markets.

The general crisis of capitalism is an integral part of imperialism, and it has two stages: the first stage began with World War I and it developed in a particular manner, with the denigration of the Soviet Union by the capitalist world; the second stage began with World War II, particularly after the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia had disfigured the capitalist system.

II. World War I and the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism.

World War I resulted from an intensification of the conflicts among imperialist powers; it was an imperialist war of aggression that shook the very foundations of capitalism. It intensified the class struggle, and it initiated a new era for humanity.

III. The victory of the great socialist revolution of October, and the division of the world into two systems: capitalist and socialist.

The first victory of the proletarian revolution over the imperialist front occurred in Russia, because that country represented the weakest link in the chain of imperialism. There the democratic bourgeois revolution was transformed into a proletarian revolution. The importance of that revolution, according to Stalin, was that: it broke the imperialist chain and placed the proletariat in power in a capitalist country; it shook imperialism in the metropolises, as well as in the colonies; and it made the existence of imperialism insecure. It divided the world

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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

into two systems, which were pitted against each other: a dying capitalist system and a flourishing socialist system. The victory of the Russian revolution transformed that country into a base of support for all the workers of the world.

IV. The crisis in the colonial system of imperialism.

The crisis in the colonial system of imperialism, which appeared at the termination of World War I, is an integral part of the general crisis of capitalism. This ^{crisis} ~~is~~ is marked by an intensification of the conflicts between the imperialist countries, on the one hand, and the colonial and dependent countries, on the other. As their domestic crises become worse, the imperialist countries increase the oppression and the exploitation of the colonial countries. The decisive condition for the victory of the revolutionary struggle of the colonial countries, against the vestiges of feudalism and foreign domination, is the alliance between the working class and the peasants. In colonial countries, the bourgeoisie is divided into two types: the bourgeoisie linked with imperialism, and the national bourgeoisie, who can be won over to the revolutionary struggle. However, the bourgeoisie can never be the directing force of the revolution.

V. The intensification of the problem of markets; the chronic partial operation of factories, and the chronic mass unemployment.

A characteristic of the general crisis of capitalism is the intensification of the problem of markets, a problem ^{which} ~~causes~~ causes factories to operate at less than capacity, which in turn causes mass unemployment. This characteristic, formerly occurring only at intervals, now becomes chronic with the general crisis of capitalism. And the chronic mass unemployment aggravates the situation of the working class and the peasants. This leads to a sharpening of the conflict between capital and labor.

VI. The worsening of the crises of overproduction, and the modifications in the capitalist cycle.

During the general crisis of capitalism, the capitalist cycle has been modified by the advent of more frequent and more serious crises. The scarcity ~~of~~ of

CONFIDENTIAL

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world markets has caused a drop in production of goods, which in turn has caused an increase in mass unemployment. One change that occurs during the crises of overproduction and the failure to find outlets for goods is the prolongation of the period of depressions. Wars and arms races give temporary relief but no permanent solution to the crises. By destroying the productive forces and increasing the misery of the masses, wars merely prepare the way for more serious crises.

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CONFIDENTIAL

25X1

Page Denied

Next 4 Page(s) In Document Denied

Imperialism, the Superior Stage of Capitalism;
The Fundamental Economic Law of Monopoly Capitalism.

25X1

Summary

I. The transition to imperialism.

The transition to imperialism occurred during the latter part of the 19th century. Imperialism, the superior and final stage of capitalism, represents the replacement of competition by monopoly; it brings new forms of production and new methods of exploitation. The transition to imperialism intensified the conflict between the productive forces and the production relations; the crises of over-production increased, and their effects became more devastating.

II. Concentration of production; monopolies; and competition.

The advent of imperialism intensified the conflicts: among imperialists for colonial possessions; between imperialist and colonial countries; and between classes. According to Lenin, the following are the basic characteristics of imperialism:

- 1) Concentration of production and of capital.
- 2) The creation of a ^{finance} ~~banking~~ oligarchy through the merger of banking capital with industrial capital.
- 3) The export of capital.
- 4) The formation of international monopolies.
- 5) The distribution of world territories among the great capitalist powers.

III. Concentration and monopoly of banking capital.

With the development of monopoly in industry, there was the development of monopoly in banking. The role of banking changed from that of intermediary to that of monopolist, and there occurred an intertwining of banks and industry.

IV. Finance capital and the finance oligarchy.

Finance capital results from the merger of monopoly banking capital with monopoly industrial capital. In all capitalist countries, a small group of capitalists gains control of the main wealth of the nation, thereby creating a finance oligarchy.

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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

V. The export of capital.

Under imperialism, the export of capital becomes a necessity for the investment of excess capital that cannot be utilized profitably in the homeland. The country that receives the foreign capital loses part of its sovereignty to the imperialists, and its own economic development is halted. The export of capital is just another form of imperialist exploitation.

VI. The economic division of the world among capitalist associations; the international monopolies.

As the export of capital increased, the great monopolies of various nations formed international monopolies, which represent a further step in imperialist domination. The international monopolies play an important role in world economics and politics.

VII. Territorial division of the world among the great powers, and the fight for the redistribution of territory.

Along with the economic division of the world, there was a territorial division of the world among the great powers, and a struggle among them for economic and political dependencies. Under imperialism, a small number of capitalist countries dominate the immense world population. Then, with the division of the colonies completed at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a struggle among the powers for a redistribution of the territories. Imperialism makes war a necessity and a highly lucrative business; imperialist wars become world wars.

VIII. The fundamental economic law of monopoly capitalism.

The objective of the monopolists is the attainment of maximum profits; this is the fundamental economic law of monopoly capitalism. This law reveals the reason for the intensification of the conflicts: between capital and labor; between the colonial and the imperialist countries; and among the imperialist countries.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

25X1

Page Denied

Next 4 Page(s) In Document Denied

Land Rent and Agricultural Relations Under Capitalism

25X1

Summary

The concentration of agricultural property in Brazil results in the concentration of the national farm income in the hands of the minority of great landowners.

As semi-feudal conditions still prevail in Brazilian agriculture, we find a predominance of pre-capitalist forms of land rent here. These pre-capitalist forms of paying for the use of land are as follows: payment in work, payment in produce, and payment in money. The latter form, which is the most used of the three, is distinguished from the capitalist form of land rent by the fact that the cultivator is not free to plant what he pleases, but must follow the wishes of the landowner in this regard.

Under capitalism, the large landowner withdraws from the land and leases it to some capitalist enterpriser, who hires salaried agricultural workers to cultivate the land. The profits, under this system, are divided between the capitalist enterpriser and the large landowner.

Agricultural income is comprised of differential income and absolute income. The differential income results from differences in land fertility and location, and represents the amount of yield above that produced by the poorest land. Absolute income represents the amount of yield from the least fertile land, and results from the capitalist use of land, inasmuch as the capitalist enterpriser must pay the landowner for the lease of the land.

Between 1940 and 1950, the large landowners increased their holdings, while many small proprietors were ruined.

Today, the struggle for land in Brazil takes two forms: the struggle between the large landowners and the small proprietors, and the struggle of the peasants for possession of the land.

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CONFIDENTIAL

25X1

Page Denied

Next 2 Page(s) In Document Denied

The Accumulation of Capital; Profit; Crises

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Summary

I. The accumulation of capital.

The accumulation of capital is achieved by the transformation of part of the surplus value into additional capital; as this process is repeated, the rate of capital accumulation is rapidly increased.

II. The organic composition of capital, and its concentration.

Capital is comprised of constant capital and variable capital; the former increases much more rapidly than the latter. The organic composition of capital is the relationship between constant capital and variable capital. The growth of capital takes place through concentration and centralization. Concentration of capital is the process of adding the surplus value to the existing capital; while centralization of capital is represented by the merger of several enterprises ^{to form} one large company.

III. A general law of capitalist accumulation.

A general law of capitalist accumulation is that the concentration and centralization of capital aggravates the situation of the worker, creates unemployment, lowers real wages, and, in general, adds to the misery of the proletariat.

IV. The fundamental contradiction of capitalism.

The fundamental contradiction of capitalism is the contradiction between the social character of the work and the private, capitalist character of the appropriation of the material goods. This contradiction is reflected in the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

V. Profit and rate of profit.

Profit is the surplus value in relation to the entire capital. The rate of profit is the relation between the surplus value and the capital, expressed as a percentage.

CONFIDENTIAL

VI. Average profit and production price.

The price of production always equals the cost of production, plus the average profit for the particular item; this average profit is one of the laws of capitalism. The average profit tends to decrease because [REDACTED] there is a leveling of prices brought about through competition.

VII. The economic crises.

The economic crises of capitalism result from an overproduction of goods in relation to the existing purchasing power of the masses. These crises are inherent in the capitalist system because of the contradiction [REDACTED] between the social-type of production and the private ownership of the goods produced. Furthermore, these crises recur periodically; they serve as an equilibrium in capitalist production and, at the same time, as a [REDACTED] condition for a new disequilibrium. These crises intensify the conflict between the exploiters and the exploited, thereby hastening the end of capitalism.

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CONFIDENTIAL

25X1

Page Denied

Next 4 Page(s) In Document Denied

25X1

Capital and surplus value.

I -The basis of production relations in capitalism.

II -The transformation of money into capital.

III -Labor power as merchandise; value and use value of labor power.

IV -The law of surplus value.

V -Capital as social relation of production. Constant capital and variable capital.

VI -Surplus value rate.

VII -Absolute and relative surplus value. Extra surplus value.

I - The basis of production relations in the bourgeois society is the capitalist ownership of the means of production. Capitalist ownership of the means of production is private ownership, which is not ^a product of labor and ^{which} serves to exploit the workers.

Thus, capitalist production is the private ownership of the means of production and is based on the exploitation of the workers; its fundamental class contradiction is between the exploited worker and the exploiting bourgeoisie, ^{a class} which does not work and ^{which} determines wealth in its own fashion. This does not mean there are no other classes, which remain from the prior economy: in Brazil, for example, there still exist feudal ownership and small landowners.

II - All capital begins in the form of money.

In the simple commercial stage, the process is merchandise-money-merchandise. In the capitalist relations it is money-merchandise-money: money is converted into merchandise which is transformed into a larger amount of money. Thus, money is converted into capital and the owner becomes a capitalist.

CONFIDENTIAL

-1-

CONFIDENTIAL

Labor power is the aggregate of physical and spiritual faculties existing in the individual. It did not ^{first} appear under capitalism, having existed in prior societies. Under capitalism, labor power is converted into merchandise; it becomes an object that can be bought and sold. For this reason, capitalism is said to be the highest stage of commercial production.

III - All ^{goods} possess value and use value. Value is measured by the socially necessary labor entering into its production. Use value is the utility of the merchandise, its capacity to satisfy the needs of man.

Under capitalism, where everything is merchandise, even labor power has value and use value. The value of "labor power" merchandise, therefore, is equal to the value of all the elements needed to produce and reproduce labor power.

Labor power varies according to prevailing conditions; it not only varies in space, but also in time.

The use value of any merchandise is determined by its usefulness to the consumers. The use value of the "labor power" merchandise is its ability to be a source of value, moreover, of value above that of its own.

Value created by the worker is always above that of his labor power. Capitalists benefit by availing themselves of this surplus.

IV - Surplus value is the value which the worker creates above his labor power, and which is gratuitously seized by the capitalist. Private ownership of the means of production is what leads the capitalist to believe he has a right to exploit the workers. One aspect of this exploitation is that the value of the labor power is never paid by the capitalist; contrary to the price of other merchandise, the price of labor power is always below its value.

The law of surplus value is the fundamental law of capitalism and it essentially applies to all its stages. Surplus value is the source of

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

all bourgeois income.

Lenin called the doctrine of surplus value the keystone of Marxist economy; its knowledge is essential for the study of political economy.

V - Through the purchase of labor power, money is converted into capital. Therefore, capital is value which produces surplus value by the exploitation of the workers. The Marxist concept of capital embodies the relation existing between the capitalist and the worker, which involves the exploitation of the working class by the bourgeoisie.

Marx noted that capital is not modified in all aspects of the process of production: Buildings, machinery, raw materials, etc., constitute constant capital, which is that whose value is not modified but merely transformed into the merchandise produced; and the amount employed in the purchase of labor power constitutes variable capital, which is that whose value is modified.

VI - The surplus value rate is the relation of the amount of surplus value to variable capital. It resulted from the Marxist division of capital into constant and variable capital. Since variable capital is the one related to labor power, it is the one that should be considered in regard to surplus value.

Surplus value rate is equivalent to the degree of capitalist exploitation. It is obtained by using the formula $m' = \frac{m}{v}$, where m' is the surplus value rate, m is the amount of surplus value, and v is the variable capital.

VII - Increase of surplus value is obtained through two methods:
1) by increasing the working hours, which results in absolute surplus value; and 2) by reducing the hours of socially necessary labor, which results in relative surplus value.

Extra surplus value is the excess over the usual surplus value rate obtained by certain capitals, which by the use of improved machinery and production methods attains a labor productivity above ~~that~~ ^{that} of other

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

enterprises of the same sector.

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CONFIDENTIAL

25X1

Page Denied

Next 3 Page(s) In Document Denied

Commodity production; commodities and money.

25X1

- I - Introduction; commodity production, the starting point of the rise and general characteristic of capitalism.
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25X1

Page Denied

Next 4 Page(s) In Document Denied

The Position of the Communist Party With Regard to Religion

25X1

Summary

It is important for us to know the position of the Communist Party with regard to religion because ^{religion} is an ideological form that influences the great masses, including the workers, in the colonial and dependent countries. Religion plays a reactionary role; it is always supported by the ruling classes as a means to achieve the spiritual domination of the workers.

In the history of man, the changes in the social structure have been reflected in the changes in religion. With the rise of the class society and of the State, the ideas of religion changed accordingly. The appearance of an earthly hierarchy was reflected in the appearance of a heavenly hierarchy. In fact, all religions reflect the material conditions of the society in which they exist.

In capitalist countries, religion is an instrument of oppression and domination used by the capitalists. Capitalism oppresses the workers materially, while the priest oppresses them spiritually and justifies the capitalist exploitation. The Vatican is closely linked with the imperialists and now serves as an agency of espionage for world imperialism.

Religion and science are mutually incompatible. Science equips man with an understanding of reality and makes it possible for man to change nature and society for his benefit. Religion, on the contrary, denies reality. Religion arises from ignorance and from the impotence of man before nature and society; it is, as Marx said, ^{the} opium of the people.

Dialectical materialism is incompatible with any religion. It is opposed to idealism, subjectivism, and any kind of religion. The Party objects to its members having backward and anti-scientific concepts. In order to destroy religion, it is necessary to abolish the capitalist society and to build Communism; proof of this thesis is shown by the Soviet Union, where now merely religious vestiges remain.

From all the foregoing, we can conclude that: the true Marxist cannot be religious; to fight against religion, we must destroy its social roots. In attacking religion, we must avoid religious persecution and religious polemics.

- / -
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

For us, the fundamental thing is unity of action; any attitude opposing this is a manifestation of sectarianism. The Party must attract all workers, regardless of their religious beliefs. We must attract them in order to educate them in the spirit of our Program and of our Party, and also to prevent their opposition to our Program and ideology.

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25X1

Page Denied

Next 5 Page(s) In Document Denied

The Fundamental Principles of the Strategy and Tactics of the Communist Parties

25X1

- I. Introduction
- II. The two aspects of the worker movement.
- III. The Marxist-Leninist analysis of class forces.
- IV. Principles of strategy and tactics.
- V. What strategy consists of.
- VI. What tactics consist of.
- VII. The mission of strategic leadership.
- VIII. The mission of tactical leadership.
- IX. The watchwords and the directives.
- X. General elements of strategy and tactics.
- XI. Some observations concerning the Party.

I. The policy of the Party, being a scientific and revolutionary policy, has the objective of fighting for the attainment of political power.

In order for this struggle to be truly victorious, it is necessary for it to: be based on a Marxist analysis of class forces; outline a correct plan of the distribution of the revolutionary forces in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle; facilitate the task of leading the masses toward the triumph of the revolution; facilitate the task of creating a broad political movement formed by the great masses of people, a movement necessary for the fulfillment of its mission of fighting to attain political power. Thus, it is necessary for Party Policy to consider the essential problems of each moment, without ever losing sight of the final objective.

Consequently, the forms of Party policy change, but the principles that inspire this policy are always valid. We will now examine the principles of structure and tactics which always inspire the policies of the Communist Party.

II. The strategy and tactics are in close harmony with the worker movement. They are formed of two elements: the objective element and the subjective element. The strategy and tactics start from the objective element, but their action is on the subjective side.

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III. The strategy and tactics can be correct only if they are based on [REDACTED] the Marxist analysis of class forces. This means the study and interpretation of the objective reality in its development in order to reach an understanding of the correlation of ^{the} class forces which we face at any given moment. As a result of this, we can determine the general and immediate objectives of the worker movement, objectives which must be scientifically formulated in the points of the program.

IV. The struggle which the Party wages against the forces of the dominant classes demands that the Party have strategy and tactics.

The general strategic and tactical principles of the Party emerged from the systematization of the struggle of the worker movement [REDACTED] made by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

What is strategy? Strategy, according to the indications of the Program, still basing itself on the estimate of the forces in the struggle on the national and international levels, defines the common course, the common direction toward which the revolutionary movement of the proletariat must be directed from the standpoint of obtaining the greatest results with regard to the correlation of forces which emerges and develops.

In accordance with this, strategy outlines a plan for arranging the forces of the proletariat and its allies on the fighting front. One must not confuse the suggested plan of distribution of forces with the practical work of coordinating the forces ^{and} leading them in the fight, a task that is done through the combined use [REDACTED] of strategy and tactics. This does not mean that strategy is limited to outlining the course and to indicating the plan of the distribution of the revolutionary forces. On the contrary, it also has the mission of directing the struggle and carrying out the tactics during the entire course of the revolution, ably utilizing the reserves it has and working toward the objective of maintaining the tactics.

What are tactics? In accordance with the strategy and experience of the national and international revolutionary movements, always bearing in mind the situation of the forces, both among the proletariat and its allies (with a greater or lesser cultural heritage, a greater or lesser organization and awareness, and in the presence of fixed traditions and forms of organization) and in the camp of the

adversary, exploiting the differences that exist therein, the tactics indicate the concrete courses to win the masses to the side of the revolutionary proletariat, and to lead them to the fighting positions in the social front, in conformity with the strategic plan. Within this framework, tactics establish or change the orders and the directives.

The difference existing between strategy and tactics can be understood by the following example: strategy is the art of winning wars; tactics are the art of winning battles. This formula is applied entirely to the political struggle; it permits an understanding, because strategy remains the same for a long period, while tactics change many times during that same period. On the political level, strategy and tactics are the science having the objective of arming the Party to lead the struggle of the working class and the people.

V. What is strategy? It consists in determining, during a given stage in the development, the objective to attain:

- 2) it indicates the forces or the fundamental force of the revolution;
- 3) it indicates the immediate reserves;
- 4) it establishes the direct reserves;
- 5) it establishes the indirect reserves;

6) it fixes, in the light of the objectives, the direction of the main blow. One should not confuse the direction of the main blow with the objective. The direction of the main blow is always against those forces which seek to swerve the masses and the proletariat from the revolution, which strive to conciliate the interests of the people with the power of the great landowners and capitalists in Brazil;

- 7) it prepares the plan of distribution of the revolutionary forces;
- 8) it fights for the carrying out of the plan throughout the entire

development of the revolution.

Stalin teaches us: "Strategy is concerned with the fundamental forces of the revolution and its reserves. Strategy changes at times of sudden historical changes. It covers the period from one sudden change to another, ^{which is} the reason why

it directs the movement toward a definite objective, which includes the interests of the proletariat for this entire period and aims to win the war among the classes that act during this period."

That is ~~way~~, during this period, it remains unchanged.

VI. Stalin said: "Tactics is a part of strategy, to which it is subordinated and which it serves." Tactics consists in the following:

- 1) Determining the line of conduct during a relatively short period of the ebb or flow of the movement, of the rise or decline of the revolution.
- 2) Fighting for the application of this line of conduct through the establishment of forms of struggle and of organization, and through the combination of these forms of struggle.
- 3) Issuing the watchwords to gain the support of the masses for positions in the struggle.
- 4) Winning this or that battle or combat; successfully concluding this or that fight in compliance with the existing concrete situation. Tactics can change many times in the course of the same strategic period, but as tactics are subordinate to the interests of strategy, tactical successes must be achieved in order to prepare for strategic successes.

Stalin said: "The task of tactics consists in leading the masses to fight, in giving ~~orders~~ orders to the masses, in leading them to new positions so that the fight may result in victory and in strategical success." Stalin also states that in certain circumstances the tactical success destroys the strategic success. In these cases, it is necessary to scorn the tactical successes.

VIII. The mission of strategic leadership consists in successfully mobilizing all the reserves of the revolution in order to attain the fundamental objective.

The reserves of the revolution are of two types: direct and indirect.

Stalin established four conditions for utilizing these reserves:

- 1) To concentrate the main forces of the revolution against the most vulnerable point of the adversary at the decisive moment when the revolution is already mature, when the offensive marches ahead at full power, when the insurrection is beating at the door, and when sending the reserves to the vanguard constitutes a decisive condition of success.

2) To choose the moment for the decisive blow, the moment to begin the rebellion, by basing judgment on the fact that the crisis has now reached its highest point, that the vanguard is anxious to fight to the end, that the reserve is ready to replace the vanguard, that the confusion in the enemy ranks has now reached its maximum degree; when this condition is not observed, there is always serious danger, which is called losing the rhythm. This happens when the Party falls back in relation to the progress of the movement, or advances too much, thereby exposing itself to the danger of failures.

3) To firmly put into practice the orientation already adopted in spite of any difficulty or complication that might block the course toward the end pursued. This is necessary in order that the vanguard may not lose sight of the fundamental objective of the struggle, and so that the masses marching toward this objective and striving to group themselves around the vanguard may not be swayed from the course. Failure to observe this condition leads to loss of rhythm.

4) To be able to use the reserves for a successful withdrawal when the enemy is strong, when the withdrawal is inevitable, when it is known beforehand that it is disadvantageous to enter combat, when the enemy attempts to charge us, and when, bearing in mind the correlation of existing forces, the withdrawal becomes the only way of keeping the reserves at our side and of deflecting the blow. The objective of this condition consists in gaining time, demoralizing the ~~enemy~~ enemy, and ~~gathering~~ gathering forces in order to pass to the attack.

Such are the conditions for assuring success in the strategical leadership.

VIII. Tactical leadership forms a part of strategic leadership, and it is subordinate to the objectives and demands of strategy.

Therefore, the mission of tactical leadership consists ^{of} the following:

- 1) To assimilate all forms of fighting and organization.
- 2) To issue the corresponding orders.

3) To assure the proper utilization of all forms of fighting and organization in order to obtain the maximum results, within a fixed correlation of forces, necessary for the preparation of the strategic success.

What does it mean to know how to correctly utilize the forms of fighting and organization. Stalin established the following two conditions:

1) to bring to the fore those forms of fighting and organization which best meet the conditions of the ebb or flow of the movement at a given moment, and which are capable of facilitating and guaranteeing the leading of the masses of millions of men to the revolutionary front, as well as their deployment in the revolutionary front. This shows the need for understanding that this matter concerns the winning over, not only ~~the~~ of the vanguard, but mainly of the masses for the political positions of the Party. For this, it is necessary to adopt methods of fighting and forms of organization which make it easy for the masses, through ^{these} ~~their~~ own experiences, to recognize the correctness of the Party orders. In this regard, we must be careful of two errors:

a) ~~the~~ falling into the defensive, into passivity, into waiting, and not bringing to the fore those forms of fighting and organization which the situation demands. This is spontaneity, opportunism.

b) not utilizing all forms of fighting and organization; scorning the combining of legal work with illegal work; not planning the patient preparation of the masses so that they understand the correctness of Party policies. This means the imposing of our position on the masses and falling into a sectarian position.

2) the second condition consists in knowing how to find in the chain of events, at any given moment, that key link, whose control will afford domination over the entire chain and prepare the conditions for the strategic success.

IX. The orders are concise and clear formulations of the objectives of the nearby or distant struggles launched by the Party. Orders have a special significance in the political struggle because, if formulated correctly and reflecting the immediate and distant objectives, they can mobilize the masses for their demands and needs.

The orders change in accordance with the circumstances and the diversity of the objectives of the struggle.

Lenin teaches us: "Very often it happens that when history takes an abrupt turn even the most advanced Parties allow a certain amount of time to pass before orienting themselves inline with the newly established situation; they reflect the orders that were valid yesterday, but which have no purpose today because of the sudden ~~turn~~ turn taken by history."

The orders can be of two types: general (strategic) and specific (tactical).

^{strategic}
The orders ~~of~~ of the Party must not be judged from the viewpoint of the episodic successes or failures of the revolutionary movement in this or that period, nor ~~from~~ from the standpoint of the time or manner of carrying out this or that demand as derived from the orders.

The strategic orders of the Party can only be judged from the viewpoint of the Marxist analysis of class forces and of the correct distribution of the revolutionary forces on the fighting front for the triumph of the revolution, for the conservation of power in the hands of a new class. The orders can be of three types:

- a) propaganda;
- b) agitation;
- c) action.

There is an important difference between them, and if we confuse them we will commit a serious error. The order "For a Democratic Popular Regime" is an order of propaganda. The order "For a Democratic Government of National Liberation" is an order, partly of propaganda and partly of agitation, and it will become an order of action on the eve of the rebellion; later, it will become a directive, that is, during the rebellion.

Also, there is a difference between an order and a directive. The directive is a direct appeal for action from the Party for a fixed time and place; it is obligatory for all Party members.

An order can change from propaganda to agitation; from agitation to action; and from action to a directive.

It is necessary to guard against confusing orders with directives; this confusion is as dangerous, and at times fatal, as premature or delayed actions. It is also necessary to understand the changes from an order to a directive.

Stalin said: "There are cases when the Party must, within a period of 24 hours, annul or change the order or directive already adopted and matured, in order to defend its ranks against a trap placed by the enemy or to temporarily postpone the carrying out of the directive, awaiting a more favorable moment."

The task of the Party consists in transforming, intelligently and opportunely, the orders of agitation into orders of action, or in changing the orders of action into concrete directives; or, if the situation demands it, ⁱⁿ showing ~~the~~ the necessary flexibility of decision in order to make ineffective this or that order, however popular or mature it may be.

X. We will now examine the general principles of strategy and tactics as established by Lenin.

1) Accept, on the basis of the conclusions that stem from the Marxist theory and which are ~~confirmed~~ confirmed by the practical revolution, the thesis that the proletariat is the only consistently revolutionary class and that, therefore, it is called to lead the revolution.

2) Accept, on the basis of the conclusions that stem from the Marxist theory and which are confirmed ~~in~~ in practice, the thesis that the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party of any country can be correct only in the event that they do not limit themselves to the circle of interests of their own country, but on the contrary, aware of the conditions and the situation of their own country, they take as a basis the interests of the international proletariat.

3) Accept, as a point of departure, the negation of all doctrinaireism, both of the left and of the right, in elaborating the line; the negation of the method of citations and of historic parallels, understanding that this does not concern adapting oneself to explain the situation, but to change it.

4) It is necessary for the Party not to prepare the orders on the basis of memorized formulas, but, with the concrete situation in mind, on the basis of international experiences and the practical revolution.

5) Reform all work of the Party so that all Party activities may lead to the revolutionary education of the masses.

6) Combine the elevated spirit of principle with the maximum ties with the masses in order to direct the masses and learn with them.

7) Be able to combine the revolutionary nature of the cause with the maximum flexibility and capability of maneuver, inasmuch as it is necessary to link the daily interests with the fundamental ones, and to combine the illegal work with the legal work.

8) Be able to distinguish revolutionary tactics from reformist tactics.

9) Revolutionary actions of themselves do not determine the nature of the action, but they do if these actions are linked with the revolutionary objectives of the Party.

10) Progress cannot be made with the vanguard alone.

11) It is necessary to be able to utilize the slightest possibilities for assuring an ally of the masses to the proletariat.

12) Be able to convince the masses through persuasion; explain a thousand times, educate the masses politically.

13) Remember that the masses learn, basically, through experience; that they do not learn spontaneously, but rather through the daily and patient work of the Party.

14) It is necessary to state what is in the conscience of the masses, even though many times they may not know how to express it.

XI. Only by following these principles of strategy and tactics can the Party apply its political line firmly and consistently, utilizing the existing possibilities for directing the masses politically.

Stalin teaches: "It is necessary for the Party to systematically control the execution of its decisions and directives, without having these decisions and directives run the risk of becoming mere words, capable only of shaking the confidence which the masses have placed in them."

Finally, it is necessary to carry on the fight on the two fronts, that is, against the opportunist and the sectarian deformations.

The main danger, however, lies in underestimating the forces of the working class and of the democratic camp.

It is necessary not to allow ~~one's~~ one's self to be impressed by the enemy, by his property, his repression, and his diversionist activities, because this creates vacillations in the struggle for the application of the Party policy.

It is necessary to bear the following advice in mind:

- 1) always remember the principles;
- 2) act with the maximum of flexibility;
- 3) always be linked with the masses and work with them;
- 4) draw lessons from experiences;
- 5) never lose the perspective;
- 6) do not let yourself be surprised by the changes in the situation.

We are in a period where the work is easier and produces more. Where all the favorable conditions exist for the struggle for political power, this demands that under all circumstances we lead the masses, educating them revolutionarily in the fight for peace, for bread, for land, for liberties, for national liberation, and for the Democracy of the People.

But, in order to achieve all this, it is necessary to fight for the political, organizational, and ideological consolidation of the Party.

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Page Denied

Next 6 Page(s) In Document Denied

The Marxist-Leninist Doctrine Concerning the Revolution

25X1

In Colonial and Dependent Countries

Summary

I. Introduction.■

The principles recommended by Lenin to the Communist Party for the solving of the national and colonial problem are as follows:

- 1) Evaluate the historical and economic situation.
- 2) Differentiate the interests of the oppressed classes from the interests of the dominant class.
- 3) Divide the nations into two categories: the oppressed and dependent nations, and the sovereign, exploiting nations.

From the aforementioned principles, the following bases for the solution to the national and colonial question are drawn:

- a) Proletarian internationalism.
- b) The liberation of peoples oppressed by imperialism.
- c) The free existence and development of nations having equal rights, with the condition that the victory of the revolution■ depends on the working class taking charge of the fight for national liberation, under the guidance of the Communist Party.

II. The basic principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the national and colonial problem.

The basic principles of ^{the} ~~Marxist~~-Leninist policy for the solution of the national and colonial problem are four:

- 1) Internationalism--the international solidarity of the workers.
- 2) The free existence and the free development of nations, with these nations having equality of rights and the right of self-determination.
- 3) The liberation of the peoples oppressed by imperialism; the national problem must be considered as a part of the whole problem of emancipating the colonies.

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4) The national and colonial question is an integral part of the world proletarian revolution.

III. The fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the revolution in the colonial and dependent countries.

The Marxist-Leninist theory for the victory of the revolution in the colonial and dependent countries consists of six basic principles, as follows:

- 1) The hegemony of the proletariat.
- 2) The proletariat of the capitalist countries can achieve victory only in alliance with the liberation movement of the colonial and dependent peoples.
- 3) The liberation movement of the peoples oppressed by imperialism can achieve victory only in alliance with the proletariat of the capitalist countries.
- 4) There is an essential difference between the revolution in imperialist countries and the revolution in colonial and dependent countries.
- ✓ 5) National liberation will not be achieved without revolution.
- 6) The liberation movement of the peoples oppressed by imperialism can achieve victory only with the fraternal support of the Soviet Union.

IV. The hegemony of the proletariat is a basic condition for the success of the revolution.

The leadership of the masses in the national liberation movement can be effected only by the working class, led by the Communist Party. The hegemony of the proletariat depends mainly on the following factors:

- 1) the degree of organization and unity of the proletariat.
- 2) the fighting capability of the proletariat.
- 3) the experience accumulated by the proletariat during the struggle.
- 4) a correct policy concerning allies.
- 5) the existence of an independent, disciplined, and combative Communist Party, with fighting experience and having authority among the masses.

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The decisive factors for proletarian leadership are:

- a) the strong organization of the Party, in close connection with the masses.
- b) the correct political line of the Party.
- c) the revolutionary spirit of the Party.
- d) a strong worker-peasant alliance.

V. The principal tactics for the victorious movement in the colonial and dependent countries.

The principal Leninist tactics for achieving victory in the colonial and dependent countries are the following:

- 1) keep in mind the national peculiarities of each country.
- 2) utilize the possibilities, however slight they may be, to assure the masses of an ally, even though he may be vacillating, temporary, unsteady, or conditional.
- 3) keep in mind that agitation and propaganda are not enough for the political education of the masses; the political experience of the masses is also essential.

VI. Deviations in the application of Marxism-Leninism in the colonial and dependent countries.

- 1) The underestimation of the national factor.
- 2) The lack of understanding of the need for proletarian leadership in the revolution.
- 3) The denial of the existence of feudal vestiges in the colonial and dependent countries.
- 4) The lack of understanding and the underestimation of the anti-imperialist struggle.
- 5) The lack of understanding and the underestimation of the fight against the internal enemies.
- 6) Considering the national liberation movement as a whole, and not understanding that this movement is comprised of heterogeneous forces that are fighting for the common objective, but whose interests are not identical.

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VII. Conclusion.

The correctness of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine concerning the revolution in the colonial and dependent countries was given practical confirmation in the Soviet and Chinese revolutions, and now it is being confirmed day after day in the growing development of the national liberation movements of the peoples oppressed by imperialism.

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- 8 -

CONFIDENTIAL

25X1

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Next 8 Page(s) In Document Denied

The Marxist-Leninist Doctrine Concerning the Revolution
in Colonial and Dependent Countries

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Summary

I. Introduction.

The fundamental principles of Lenin concerning the revolution in colonial and dependent countries are as follows:

- 1) Evaluate the concrete historical and economic situation of each country.
- 2) Differentiate the interests of the oppressed classes from the interests of the dominant class.
- 3) Divide the nations into two categories: oppressed and dependent nations, and the sovereign, exploiting nations.

From the aforementioned principles, the following bases for the solution to the national and colonial question are drawn:

- a) ~~Proletarian~~ Proletarian internationalism.
- b) The liberation of peoples oppressed by imperialism.
- c) The free existence and development of nations having equal rights, with the condition that the ~~Proletarian~~ victory of the revolution depends on the working class taking charge of the fight for national liberation, under the guidance of the Communist Party.

II. The basic principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the national and colonial problem.

The basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist policy for the complete solution of the national and colonial problem are four:

- 1) Internationalism--the international solidarity of the workers.
- 2) The free existence and the free development of nations, with these nations having equality of rights and the right of self-determination.
- 3) The national problem is subordinate to the colonial problem; national emancipation can only be achieved with colonial emancipation.

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4) The national and colonial question is an integral part of the world proletarian revolution.

III. The fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the revolution in the colonial and dependent countries.

The Marxist-Leninist theory for the victory of the revolution in the colonial and dependent countries consists of six basic principles, as follows:

- 1) The hegemony of the proletariat.
- 2) The proletariat of the capitalist countries can achieve victory only in alliance with the liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies.
- 3) The national liberation movement of the peoples oppressed by imperialism can achieve victory only in alliance with the proletariat of the capitalist countries.
- 4) There is an essential difference between the revolution in imperialist countries and the revolution in colonial and dependent countries.
- 5) National liberation will not be achieved without revolution.
- 6) The liberation movement of the peoples oppressed by imperialism can achieve victory only [REDACTED] with the fraternal support of the USSR.

IV. The hegemony of the proletariat is a basic condition for the success of the revolution.

The leadership of the masses in the national liberation movement can be effected only [REDACTED] by the working class, led by the Communist Party. The hegemony of the proletariat depends mainly on the following factors:

- 1) the degree of organization and unity of the proletariat.
- 2) the fighting capability of the proletariat.
- 3) the experience accumulated by the proletariat during the struggle.
- 4) a correct policy concerning allies.
- 5) the existence of an independent, disciplined, and combative Communist Party, with fighting experience and having authority among the masses.

The [REDACTED] decisive factors for proletarian leadership are:

- a) the strong organization of the Party, in close connection with the masses.
- b) the correct political line of the Party.
- c) the revolutionary spirit of the Party.
- d) a strong worker-peasant alliance.

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V. The ~~principal~~ principal tactics for the successful development of the revolution in the colonial and dependent countries are:

- 1) keep in mind the national peculiarities of each country.
- 2) have the Communist Party of each country utilize even the slightest possibilities for gaining an ally for the proletariat, however vacillating, temporary, ^{or} ~~an~~ unsteady that ally may be.
- 3) keep in mind that agitation and propaganda are not enough for the political education of the masses; the political experience of the masses is also essential.

VI. Deviations in the application of Marxism-Leninism in the colonial and dependent countries.

The main deviations seen within the Communist Parties of the colonial and dependent countries are the following:

- 1) The underestimation of the national factor as a revolutionary factor.
- 2) The lack of understanding ~~of~~ the need for proletarian leadership in the revolution.
- 3) The denial of the existence of feudal vestiges in the colonial and dependent countries.
- 4) The lack of understanding and the underestimation of the anti-imperialist struggle.
- 5) The lack of understanding and the underestimation of the fight against the internal enemies.
6. Considering the national liberation movement as a whole, and not understanding that this movement is comprised of heterogeneous forces that are fighting for the common objective, but whose interests are not identical.

VII. Conclusion.

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The ~~models~~ models for the application of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine with regard to the national and colonial problem, and for the revolutionary strategy and tactics in the colonial and dependent countries, are found in the experiences of the USSR and China.

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Questions

- 1) What are the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism for the solution of the national and colonial problem?
- 2) What are the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the revolution in the colonial and dependent countries?
- 3) What is the fundamental condition for the victory of the revolution?
- 4) What are the conditions for the achievement of proletarian leadership?
- 5) What is the basis for the united front in the colonial and dependent countries?
- 6) What are the essential tactical principles for the victory of the revolutionary movement in the colonial and dependent countries?
- 7) What are the principal deviations ⁽ⁱⁿ⁾ ~~the~~ the application of Marxism-Leninism in the colonial and dependent countries?

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Next 5 Page(s) In Document Denied